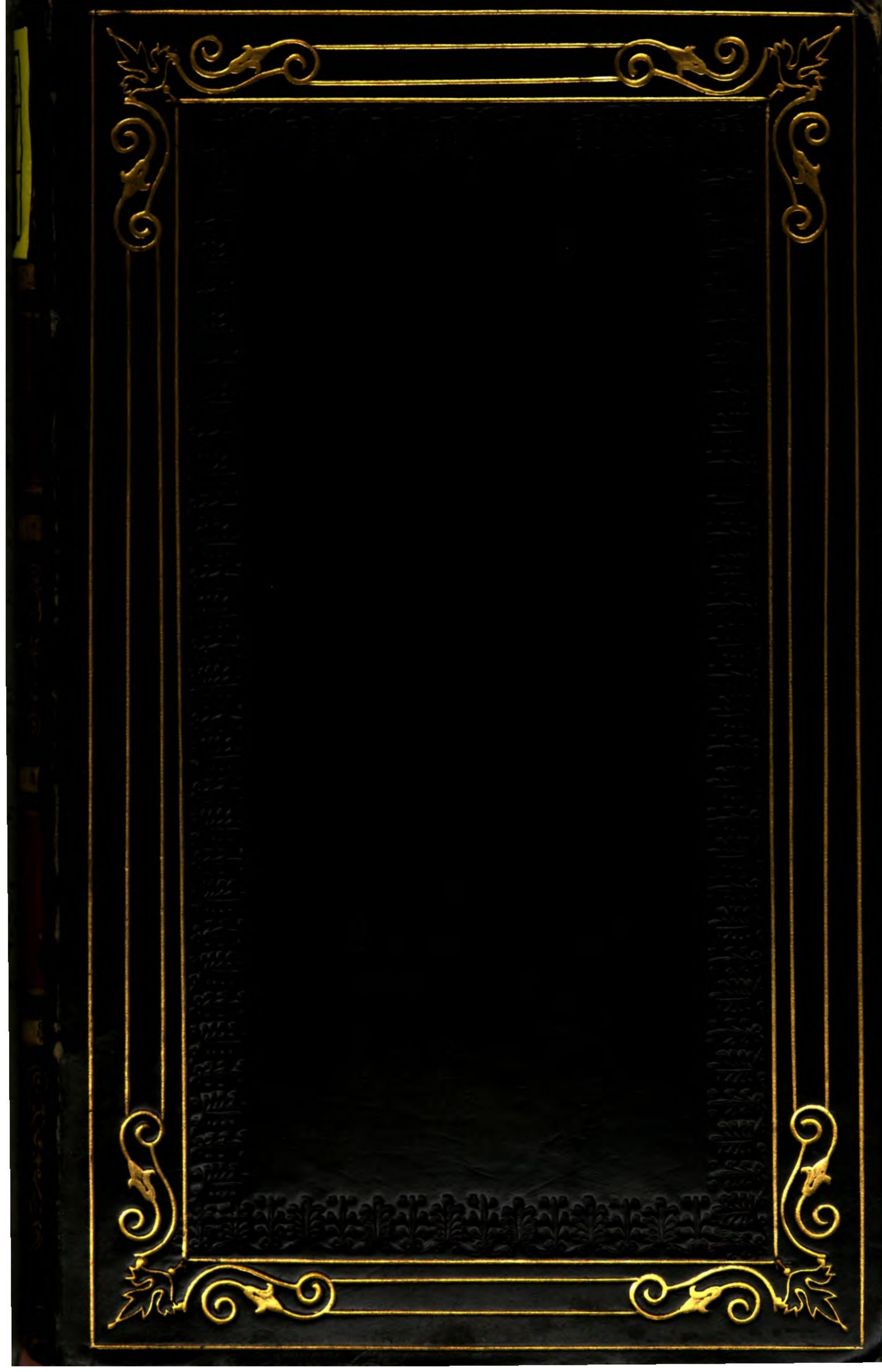














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from his sincere friend  
Richard Greene.

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JOURNAL OF A NOBLEMAN.

VOL. I.

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JOURNAL  
OF A  
NOBLEMAN;

COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS

TRAVELS,

AND A

NARRATIVE OF HIS RESIDENCE  
AT VIENNA,  
DURING THE CONGRESS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:  
HENRY COLBURN AND RICHARD BENTLEY,  
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1831.



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PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

1831



## PREFACE.

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THE following volumes comprise a narrative of my travels from Moscow to Vienna, through Poland, Turkey, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Hungary; as well as an account of some of the most remarkable occurrences in Vienna during the celebrated congress held in that capital.

If any apology were requisite for a publication of facts and incidents which took place at a period at all remote, it should rest chiefly on the prevailing taste among the reading world for works in the form of memoirs and anecdotal recollections.



It is hardly possible, indeed, not to look back with interest to the annals of a period pre-eminently entitled to the denomination of a great one, and in no respect less remarkable than the times of Pericles, Augustus, Leo X., and Louis XIV.

To the few remaining contemporaries of the events herein recorded, whatever relates to them can never fail to prove interesting; whilst to the rising generation they are calculated to afford most useful instruction.

It is precisely when objects fit for the page of history have receded from the sight, without being quite lost to it, that the scrutiny of the past may be entered into without the influence of passion and prejudice, and without the bias of personal feeling; so that an impartial and authentic survey may with confidence be laid before the public.

Many of the incidents related in the first volume were included in a work in the French language, a few copies of which were printed



some years ago for the use of my friends. They have now received a shape more worthy of publication.

As it may be objected that the narrative of my travels commences at the period of my departure from Moscow, and does not comprise an account of that city, it is perhaps necessary that I should state the cause of that omission. It will be observed that I quitted Moscow a short time previously to its destruction in 1812. Since then that city has been rebuilt on a plan essentially different from the former one, and its moral as well as architectural aspect has undergone a change so complete, that a description of what I knew of it could only convey an erroneous impression of what it is at present. Besides this, more recent travellers have said of Moscow all that is worthy of notice.

The interesting parts of Russia, however, which lie on the road from Moscow to Odessa, through Poland, have not yet been described by any who have visited them since I left that country. I



have reason, therefore, to think that the reader would derive information from the perusal of the pages which relate to them, to which their accuracy may give some value.

The subject of Turkey, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Hungary, which succeeds to that of Russia, cannot of course boast of the same degree of novelty ; but that deficiency may be compensated by the fact, that I have laboured to give the most comprehensive and correct descriptions of those countries of any yet published within the space which they here embrace.



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# JOURNAL OF A NOBLEMAN.

## TRAVELS

### FROM MOSCOW TO VIENNA.

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#### CHAPTER I.

Departure from Moscow—Hospitable reception at Serpuchoff—Arrival at Toula—Some account of that city—Russian pilgrims—Cheapness of travelling in Russia—Arrival at Nicolaska—System of education among the higher classes—National dance.

I LEFT Moscow on the 1st of May, 1812, in company with my friend Count Sergius Z——, who had, at a moment's notice, made up his mind to accompany me on my tour as far as the southern confines of the Russian empire. At Sasanora we fell in with the dethroned czarina of Georgia, who was proceeding to St. Petersburg to solicit the emperor's protection. We took tea in the same tent with her. Her handsome countenance and her dignified deportment excited admiration



and insured respect. Her suite was, indeed, that of a dethroned sovereign. There was no oriental pomp around her, but the original richness of her worn-out garments betrayed the pride of fallen greatness. After spending a few hours with the princess, we proceeded on our journey, and met with no incident worth recording until we reached Serpuchoff. On our approach to that village we came in sight of a delightful park, enclosed by an iron railing, the gates of which were opened to us as a matter of course. After riding for several minutes through pleasant avenues we reached a *château*, where our postilion halted, and we got down, not knowing exactly what to make of the place to which we were thus familiarly conducted. An elderly gentleman, however, attended by a young lady, soon made their appearance, and the former, with a politeness of manner which showed at once the man of good breeding, invited us to spend the evening and take a night's rest in his dwelling. It was by his instructions, he told us, that travellers of any distinction were always conducted to his *château* by the postilions of the adjoining post-house. We accepted without much hesitation. Tea was immediately served, and in the interval between it and the supper hour we were most agreeably entertained by the old gentleman and by the lady, who, he informed us,



was his daughter, and the wife of an officer in the guards, serving in Moldavia. Madame B——ing musical, was requested to favour us with a specimen of her talents. She sat down to the piano without hesitation, and after improvising like a skilful musician, excited no small surprise in me, by commencing one of my own romances, *C'est une Larme*, the delightful music to which had been composed by Lafont, at St. Petersburg. She sang it with exquisite taste; and after receiving our tribute of praise with unaffected modesty, my companion informed her of the share I had in the performance. His violin and my guitar, which were in our ample travelling carriage, were now brought into the room, speedily unpacked, and in a few minutes' time we commenced a concert, which continued until supper was announced. Conversation became very interesting at table. Our host related a variety of particulars respecting the last Russian embassy to China, which he had attended in the capacity of secretary. Count Golowkin, the ambassador, had proceeded to China the whole way by land. When near the celebrated wall, his mission failed, in consequence of the refusal of the Chinese authorities to accede to the programme of ceremonials proposed by him as a preliminary condition to his making his entry at Peking. The emperor would not consent to de-



rogate from his "celestial" dignity by receiving the count as the missionary of a sovereign who set up claims of equality with himself. The observance of the co-too being made the *sine qua non* by the court of Peking, the whole embassy set off on their way back to St. Petersburg, without reaching the capital of the "celestial-empire." This embassy, however, though totally unproductive of political or commercial results, has been fruitful in useful hints to any future travellers who may have to undertake an overland journey to China, the road to which was, until then, almost unknown. Dr. Reman, the physician of the embassy, brought with him innumerable specimens of Chinese arts and manufactures, of which no idea had before been formed in Russia.

We left this hospitable mansion early on the following morning, and during the whole day our excellent entertainers were the subject of our remarks and conversation.

Being in no hurry, we stopped occasionally at places on our way which promised some gratification; but we seldom found any thing particularly worthy of fixing our attention until we reached Toula. This city is considered one of the finest in Russia. It is in fact extremely well constructed. Its population amounts in all to 16,000. It was in its neighbourhood that the great battle was



fought in the 17th century, between the impostor Otrepieff, calling himself Demetrius, son of the late czar, and the Russian troops commanded by Schonisky, in which the impostor was completely defeated. The first object which attracted our notice was a kind of cap worn by all the younger females, which is exactly similar to what was formerly the common night-cap in France, and is now worn by all the cooks in Paris. This kind of head-dress was certainly not calculated to show to advantage the features of the belles of Toula; and yet such is the power of beauty that we could not help acknowledging its possession by many of them.

Toula enjoys a certain celebrity in Russia on account of its manufactory of arms, originally instituted by Peter the Great. The iron used in it is derived from mines with which the neighbourhood of the town abounds. We were shown at the manufactory some specimens of rough metal, taken almost from the surface of the earth, which yielded seventy-five per cent. The workmanship at this manufactory, however, cannot be said to equal yet the productions of France and England, with the exception of damasked sabres, which are made here in very great perfection.

The arsenal of Toula is a large and handsome



building. It only contained about 30,000 muskets; but we were informed that from seventy to eighty thousand were manufactured every year. We had to regret that, owing to the machinery being under repair, we could not obtain a view of it. It is made to work through the agency of water, and is said to be the most ingenious that was ever devised by man.

My companion being related to Prince S——, governor of the province, we waited on him, and experienced a most friendly reception. We spent a day in his house, and in the evening the prince treated us with a vocal concert, performed by Kalmoucs, in the style of their native music, which was certainly the most discordant union of sounds that ever assailed my ears.

We left Toula for Dorgesky, and passed on the whole of the road a great number of pilgrims, who were proceeding to Kioff. Sergius conversed with many of them, and questioned them as to their motives for undertaking so long and difficult a journey on foot. A species of blind religious fanaticism seemed to govern them all. No earthly consideration would have induced a single one of them to retrace his steps before his object had been fully accomplished. Some source of consolation of this kind seems, then, an indispensable requisite with all nations! The Turk goes to Mecca, the Per-



sian to Ali's sepulchre, the Italian to Loretto, the Spaniard to Compostella, the Catholic to Jerusalem, the Greek to Mount Athos, and the Russian to the catacombs of Kioff.

We travelled over the domain of a Prince Galitzin, who had died the day before. He seemed to be deeply regretted by his vassals, who spoke of him in the highest terms of praise. This prince had sinned against the laws of the Russian nobility by raising a young and beautiful slave to the condition of a princess, by making her his wife. This excluded him at once from court and the society of his equals, and made him a fixed resident on his own estates, where his agricultural pursuits and other useful occupations soon made him forget the frivolities and intrigues of the court life he had led in the early part of his earthly career.

There is perhaps no country in Europe where travelling is so cheap as in Russia. I calculate that, according to the present rate of exchange, every horse costs rather less than ten francs for a hundred miles. Every thing else on the road is cheap in proportion. Travellers, however, must not expect the accommodation of an inn any where on their route. This is a luxury yet unknown in Russia. But it is easy to carry every requisite in a britchka, which follows the traveller's carriage. We had one with us which contained our two ser-



vants, our luggage, travelling beds and canteens, and in short every possible article which could make up for deficiencies in the wretched hovels where we had frequently occasion to put up at. I did not dislike this mode of travelling, however destitute of conveniencies it may appear to those who have not visited the dreary steps\* of Muscovy. It has a charm of independence, which easily consoles one for the absence of the luxuries of civilised life.

We arrived in due course at the town of Nicolaska, in the neighbourhood of which the family of Count Sergius Z——, my travelling companion, resided. We were received at their *château* with open arms. The estate is extensive and rich, and has the advantage of being traversed by two rivers. The site of the *château* is extremely picturesque. My stay with this amiable family afforded me perhaps the best opportunity I have met in Russia of observing the system of education generally pursued among the higher classes in that country. Aware of their inferiority to other European nations in civilisation, the Russians very wisely deem it expedient that their children should possess every possible means of commu-

\* This is the name given in Russia to the immense tracts of flat land which abound in the territories of the czar.



nication with those nations which are decidedly their superiors. From a very early age therefore their children are taught most of the languages spoken in Europe. In most cases they are intrusted to the care of Swiss or French preceptors, and many of the young ladies have English and French governesses. Their education is conducted upon this system of private tuition entirely, and the instructors only leave their pupils when they are old enough to be introduced into society. A young Russian is therefore generally prepared for any career in life to which his parents may have destined him, or into which circumstances may place him. The chances in his favour are consequently such that it rarely happens they fail.

With regard to the young ladies, their education, though less important in its aim, is nevertheless equally provided for. They are taught a variety of foreign languages, and all those accomplishments, the possession of which is an indispensable requisite in the countries whose manners are taken here as models. But the ornamental part of education does not preclude the acquisition of every knowledge relating to domestic life. The principles of economy and housekeeping are carefully inculcated on their minds ; so that in most cases they become agreeable companions and attentive wives.

The day after our arrival at Nicolaska was the



anniversary of St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Russian empire. It was celebrated by an extraordinary ceremony in the parish church, followed by revelry among the people throughout the day. The peasants of my friends' domain assembled in the immediate vicinity of the *château*, and danced, ate, and drank, until night. I never was before so struck with the peculiarity of the national dance. It is performed by two persons, one of each sex, who represent the ardour of a man for the possession of the fair person before him, and the reserve and modesty of the youthful and bashful maiden, who combats between inclination and duty, and finally, rather than yield to the temptations held out to her, flies from the seducer :

Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

The motion in this dance is by no means animated, and the chief requisite in it seems to be in the mode of imparting the thought through the mimic expression of the features. A kind of guitar with two strings, called *ballaleyka*, composed the whole orchestra of this *bal champêtre*, as, in fact, it almost always does on similar occasions in this and other parts of Russia. But if the Russian dance is still inferior to the fandango, and the Romaïka, to which it bears some re-



semblance, the national style of melodies has a character which is exclusively its own. It is always in a train of lamentation, peculiarly expressive; and though it does not present any variety, it never wearies by its monotony. The most remarkable part of vocal performances is the correctness of intonation always exhibited by singers who were never taught the rules of harmony, and never learned to sing.

I recollect seeing in the house of the Duke of Saxe Teschen at Vienna an instrument something in the shape and of the size of an organ, in which the sounds of fifty different musical instruments were united. In Russia I have witnessed a performance which was somewhat the reverse of this, being executed by fifty persons, each of whom was required to give no more than a single note on a species of oboe made of copper. The effect was surprisingly fine. The performers must have spent a great portion of their lives in acquiring the habit of giving their respective notes with so much accuracy. Musical genius must, in such a case, be out of the question; and it is of course only among a class of persons brought up under the habits of passive obedience that men can be made so far to limit the sphere of their faculties as to be converted into mere organised automata. The effect produced by these extraordinary



bands of musical performers, though certainly very perfect, from the incessant practice they have been made to undergo, is not so much more agreeable than that produced by the ordinary mode of performance as to justify such a waste of useful hands in a country so thinly peopled.

We arrived at Orel, the chief city of the government\* which bears that name. It is a large, but ill-built town, remarkable only for its being the chief *entrepôt* in this part of the empire for the fur trade. We visited the stores of some of the principal dealers, in which we were shown a great variety of skins. There were some of the black fox of Kamschatka, the value of which was as high as 1500 silver roubles (240*l.* sterling) each. We did not however find here any of the most esteemed furs of the empire. Indeed these are so precious as to be almost made a court monopoly. I recollect seeing a pelisse lined with the most costly fur of Siberia in the royal treasury at Stockholm. It had been sent as a present by the Empress Catherine to Gustavus III. It was estimated at 30,000 silver roubles (4,800*l.* sterling).

\* Provinces and counties in Russia are usually called governments.



## CHAPTER II.

Raginow—Foreign adventurers in Russia—A pretended prince of the Bourbon race—Provençal taught for Italian—Dimitroffka—Gloukoff—Extraordinary cheapness of the necessaries of life—Singular character of the inhabitants—Batoorine—Mazeppa—The *château* of Prince Razoumoffski.

WE made some stay at Raginow, a village distant only 500 wersts from Moscow. It is situated in a fertile spot, surrounded with romantic scenery—a style of country to which our eyes had been unused since our leaving Moscow. In this neighbourhood the Count de W—— has his principal estate, on which he spends a great portion of the year. A curious incident occurred, whilst here, to my recollection, which justifies the appellation of the *Botany Bay* of the European continent given by my witty friend, the Marquis de Maisonfort, to Moscow. That city in fact



abounds with adventurers and quacks of all kinds from almost every part of Europe.

The Count W—— had commissioned his brother, who resided at Moscow, to look out for some Frenchman who was competent to undertake the education of the count's two sons, and to enter into the necessary agreement with him for that purpose. A Frenchman of good appearance was selected from among a great number of candidates, and was soon after despatched to Raginow. Things went on satisfactorily for some time, and the count applauded the choice his brother had made for him. One day a servant of the count, who had been appointed to attend exclusively on the French tutor, accidentally observed that the latter had the mark of a lily printed on one of his shoulders. Astonished at a novelty so unaccountable, he ventured to question the Frenchman, who, taken by surprise, and probably not knowing exactly what explanation to give, told the servant in great secrecy that he was a member of the family of the Bourbons, who, after the revolution, had all agreed on printing that royal mark upon their persons, that it might always serve as a sign of recognition among themselves in any part of the world where their misfortunes might happen to lead them. Notwithstanding his promise to keep the matter secret, the servant,



as may be easily imagined, hastened to inform every one of his fellow-domestics with his luck in having to attend on a person of royal blood. This soon came to the ears of the whole family, and from that moment he was treated by all with an obsequiousness and respect which almost placed the whole establishment at his command. Ill luck would have it, however, that one day a French emigrant holding a distinguished rank in the Russian service, being on his way to Cazan, stopped at Raginow to spend a day with Count de W——. The latter hastened to inform his visitor of the illustrious personage who resided in his house. “But,” said the traveller, “are you quite sure it is so?”—“Nothing more certain,” replied the count. “I have seen it, I have touched it, and so has almost every body in the house.”—“But what have you seen? Is it documents, parchments, or certificates?”—“Not at all,” said the count, “it is something infinitely surer than all that—nothing less than the mark of the fleur-de-lis printed on his shoulder!” The astonishment of the traveller may be easily guessed on learning this evidence of the tutor’s pretensions to royalty; but when it was explained to the count that it was the brand of a criminal, his indignation knew no bounds. The royal preceptor did not long remain under the count’s



bands of musical performers, though certainly very perfect, from the incessant practice they have been made to undergo, is not so much more agreeable than that produced by the ordinary mode of performance as to justify such a waste of useful hands in a country so thinly peopled.

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WE made some stay at Raginow, a village distant only 500 wersts from Moscow. It is situated in a fertile spot, surrounded with romantic scenery—a style of country to which our eyes had been unused since our leaving Moscow. In this neighbourhood the Count de W—— has his principal estate, on which he spends a great portion of the year. A curious incident occurred, whilst here, to my recollection, which justifies the appellation of the *Botany Bay* of the European continent given by my witty friend, the Marquis de Maisonfort, to Moscow. That city in fact



abounds with adventurers and quacks of all kinds from almost every part of Europe.

The Count W—— had commissioned his brother, who resided at Moscow, to look out for some Frenchman who was competent to undertake the education of the count's two sons, and to enter into the necessary agreement with him for that purpose. A Frenchman of good appearance was selected from among a great number of candidates, and was soon after despatched to Raginow. Things went on satisfactorily for some time, and the count applauded the choice his brother had made for him. One day a servant of the count, who had been appointed to attend exclusively on the French tutor, accidentally observed that the latter had the mark of a lily printed on one of his shoulders. Astonished at a novelty so unaccountable, he ventured to question the Frenchman, who, taken by surprise, and probably not knowing exactly what explanation to give, told the servant in great secrecy that he was a member of the family of the Bourbons, who, after the revolution, had all agreed on printing that royal mark upon their persons, that it might always serve as a sign of recognition among themselves in any part of the world where their misfortunes might happen to lead them. Notwithstanding his promise to keep the matter secret, the servant,



as may be easily imagined, hastened to inform every one of his fellow-domestics with his luck in having to attend on a person of royal blood. This soon came to the ears of the whole family, and from that moment he was treated by all with an obsequiousness and respect which almost placed the whole establishment at his command. Ill luck would have it, however, that one day a French emigrant holding a distinguished rank in the Russian service, being on his way to Cazan, stopped at Raginow to spend a day with Count de W——. The latter hastened to inform his visitor of the illustrious personage who resided in his house. “But,” said the traveller, “are you quite sure it is so?”—“Nothing more certain,” replied the count. “I have seen it, I have touched it, and so has almost every body in the house.”—“But what have you seen? Is it documents, parchments, or certificates?”—“Not at all,” said the count, “it is something infinitely surer than all that—nothing less than the mark of the fleur-de-lis printed on his shoulder!” The astonishment of the traveller may be easily guessed on learning this evidence of the tutor’s pretensions to royalty; but when it was explained to the count that it was the brand of a criminal, his indignation knew no bounds. The royal preceptor did not long remain under the count’s



roof after the discovery of his impudent imposture.

The relation of this occurrence recalls to my memory another, which, though of a less important character, is rather more amusing. A maid-servant from Provence had, somehow or other, found her way to Moscow, where she gave herself out as a lady of education who wanted a situation as governess. She contrived, in fact, to impose on the credulity of a lady of respectability, who engaged her chiefly for the purpose of teaching Italian to her daughter. The governess knew not a word of this language; but as her own native tongue, the Provençal, bears some resemblance to Italian in regard to pronunciation, she taught that language to her pupil, who, in fact, after three years' study, became as complete a mistress of it as the capacity of her governess was able to make her. The imposture, however, could not always remain concealed; but it was a long time before the young lady could be persuaded that she had been losing her time in learning a useless *patois*.

After leaving Raginow we proceeded to Dimitroffka, the next place of some note lying on our route. I remarked that in every peasant's house we entered since our departure from Moscow the walls were partly daubed with coarse paint-



ings, and where any wainscoting supplied the place of plaster, it was engraved in a rough manner with figures representing in general horrific scenes. These specimens of the arts of painting and sculpture among the untaught and semi-barbarous peasantry of Russia, at all events evince a degree of aptitude which would soon place them on a level with the most accomplished of men, if education among them received every due encouragement. It is to be feared, however, that notwithstanding the comparatively rapid progress which the Russians generally have made of late in various branches of civilisation, it will not be our generation who will at any period find them rivalling the other nations of Europe in knowledge and refinement. The policy of the government is necessarily opposed to every intellectual improvement among the lower orders ; and even were it otherwise, the aristocracy of the country are too deeply interested in the perpetuation of ignorance, and too powerful to be disregarded by the court, to leave any hope that the progress of light can be otherwise than slow in Russia. Under a government so absolute as that of the czars, and the existence of an innumerable corps of nobility, whose wealth chiefly depends on the number of slave-peasants (*souls*, as they commonly call them in that country), that are possessed, it



is obvious that every thing must tend to keep the mind of the people in that state of debasement best calculated to prolong the power of the one, and maintain the interests of the other. Civilisation must therefore work slowly in a country where its benefits are both misapplied and misunderstood. But let not the higher classes believe that the difference between that station of refinement which they are all anxious to attain, and that brutal condition in which they are equally desirous of maintaining the people, can always remain as great as they would wish it to be. The example of the one must operate upon the other, and the power of reasoning will do its work in time.

We spent a part of the day at Dimitroffka, and it being a holiday, all the inhabitants assembled at church, where I went also to make my devotions according to the rites of the Greek religion. The singing was remarkably fine: it is surprising how perfectly harmonious it is in almost every Russian church. I recollect hearing the *Gospodin po miloë* in many churches at Moscow, given in a style of perfection not to be surpassed in the choir of St. Peter at Rome, though destitute of such participation as that of the unfortunate beings who, in Italy, have become as necessary in the performance of sacred music, as they



are requisite in Turkey to maintain the chastity of the harem.

It has frequently occurred to me in Russia, that if the objects of religion were really best secured by imparting to its rites a magnificence and splendour calculated to strike the imagination and fascinate the mind, none more than the Greek church could claim the power of promoting the Christian faith. The ceremonies of that church possess a grandeur and majesty not equalled in any other. Within its walls men are not entitled to distinctions of precedence, nor are any even indulged with a seat. All are equal, and all are humble, in the sight of the Creator they come to acknowledge and adore. The body of the church in which the faithful are received is plain; but the *ayanastasis*, or holy wainscot, which divides the sanctuary from the public place of worship, reaching from the floor to the ceiling, is magnificently ornamented with paintings, representing Christ in various forms, the Virgin Mary, and the twelve Apostles, each framed in cornices studded with precious stones, or surmounted by ornaments in massive gold or silver. Beyond the *ayanastasis*, where the secret mysteries are celebrated in preparation of the public service, none but the initiated are allowed to penetrate. When all has been prepared, a folding-door in the centre



of the sacred partition is thrown open, and the officiating senior priest, clothed in embroidered robes, holds up the holy sacrament to the adoration of the faithful, saying, "Peace be with you!" on which all prostrate themselves, repeating the sign of the cross without intermission until the sacrament is no longer held to their view. The remainder of the service is performed in a singing voice, without the accompaniment of an organ or any other musical instrument. All the officiating priests and their attendants join in the chorus. In the imperial chapels the chanting is executed by men who have been regularly trained to that service, and who therefore perform it in a manner infinitely superior to what it is heard elsewhere.\*

\* "While I was staying at Reichenbach in Silesia, during the armistice between the allied troops and those commanded by Napoleon (1813), the news of the victory obtained by the Duke of Wellington at Vittoria was received by the Emperor Alexander. His majesty lost no time in communicating it to Lord Cathcart, the British ambassador at his court, inviting at the same time his excellency to attend the next day with all his suite and other English gentlemen then at Reichenbach, to a *Te Deum*, which was to be sung at the imperial chapel in celebration of that event. I had only been at the head-quarters a few days, and of course I was anxious not to miss an opportunity which was likely to procure me an introduction to the Emperor Alexander in person, and an insight into the camp-court he had established here since the suspension of hostilities. Through some unavoidable delay, I started at least half an hour after Lord Cathcart and the English



The smoke of burning incense, and the multitude of lighted wax-torches and tapers recalls to mind

party. The emperor had taken up his residence in a magnificent *château*, called the Castle of Peterswald, situated near the village of that name, about three miles distance from the town of Reichenbach. This place was truly fit to serve as the abode of a court. On arriving at the porter's-lodge, it was intimated to me by the officer commanding the guard on duty that no one was allowed to go up in a carriage. I therefore got out of mine, and walked up the stately avenue of beech trees which leads to the castle. It was a beautiful July morning, and all the windows of the *château* were open. Suddenly, the sounds of majestic music struck my ear. It seemed to me that I had never before heard a more complete and more effective harmony. The whole produced an effect which led me to conclude that one of the finest organs in Europe had been brought to give greater splendour to the occasion. I listened for some minutes with wonder and delight, and then proceeded up stairs: guided by the sound of the music alone, I contrived to find, without inquiry, the way to the room used as a chapel. A crowd of princes-royal, and princes not royal, of marshals, generals, ambassadors, and others, all glittering with embroidery, epaulets, stars, crosses, and gold lace, almost completely filled the chapel. Two objects alone engrossed my thoughts—the Emperor Alexander and the wonderful instrument, whose performance was unequalled by any thing of the kind I had ever heard. It was with the utmost difficulty that I penetrated through this crowd of royal highnesses and excellencies, so far as to obtain a full view of what I was most anxious to see. Indeed, I managed to go close behind the emperor, who was standing alone a little in front of the foremost line of the crowd. The remarkable plainness of his dress, and his tall and commanding figure, distinguished him from all present. Although it was the first time I beheld him, I knew him at once. The room was not large; and it was for a long time in vain that I cast an in-



the ceremonies observed in the eastern church ; but the *ensemble* is grander and more impressive. The church of Russia is exactly similar to the Greek patriarchal church of Constantinople. Although there is a national hierarchy, the patriarch of Constantinople is still acknowledged as the head of the religion of the state. He does not, however, exercise any sort of influence in Russia, and his spiritual authority is mere nominal.

In the neighbourhood of Dimitroffka the land consists of estates of the crown. They are ex-

quiring look towards the side of it from whence the musical strains proceeded. There was nothing, however, besides the sound that indicated the presence of an organ. At last, to my amazement, I discovered that the sound issued from among a group of fifteen or twenty persons, ranged together in one of the corners of the chapel. They went on chanting the service without a moment's intermission. I did not know whether I was to admire most the perfection of the *ensemble* of their singing, or the sonorous quality of each singer's powerful voice. Such an effect produced by a union of human voices I had certainly never conceived ; nor have I since, in any of the numerous parts of the globe that I have visited, found any thing which could give even the remotest idea of it. I was afterwards informed that these singers of the imperial chapel are picked out from among millions. They are sometimes brought from the most distant parts of the empire to become psalmodists to the court. The emperor is generally followed by his household clergy, and some of these singers, to whatever parts he travels."—*Narrative extracted from the manuscript memoirs of an English traveller.*



ceedingly well cultivated, and produce a great quantity of corn. But this is sent to the brandy distilleries, where the whole of it is used. I have been assured that upwards of 500,000,000 of pounds' weight of corn annually undergo the process of distillation in Russia for the supply of that favourite beverage. There is indeed another liquor, called *quash*, much in use as a common beverage, similarly to the common beer in Germany: it is drank by the rich as well as the poor; for I have frequently found it at the table of the former; but brandy possesses charms for the Russian of a superior kind. The *quash*, I have been assured, is a very wholesome beverage, being nothing more than a mixture of water with the flour of rye which has undergone fermentation.

Although nothing hurried us in our journey, the rapidity of our progress from one station to the other was as great as if we were running a race against time. Such is the habit of the postilions of going with the utmost speed, that it is almost impossible to make them change their pace. They generally go at the rate of 14 *wersts*, or four French leagues an hour, calculating the league at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *wersts*.

On our way from Dimitroffka we stopped to dine at a small town called Sweska, situated on the borders of a lake. It was formerly a fortified



place ; but its ramparts have been suffered to decay, and we found them in a state of ruin.

We reached Gloukoff on the following day. This was once a city of importance in the empire, having long been the seat of government. It was almost wholly destroyed by fire several years ago, since when its population has been considerably diminished. Provisions here are extremely cheap. The *pood* of rye is sold at the bazar for 62 copecs, which, at the present rate of exchange, is equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *centime* the pound of bread. Wheat bread is sold at two *centimes* the pound. The price of the best meat is 6 *centimes* the pound, and a very fine goose may be had for 40 *centimes*.\* Fish (fresh water, of course,) and game are in the same proportion. We had some of both for dinner, which we found of the most perfect quality.

There are no beggars here ; at least none are ever seen in the place ; and, what is most extraordinary in a Russian town, its inhabitants are rather “addicted” to sobriety. They have, however, the character of carrying the superstitious notions common in Russia to a greater extreme than they are found elsewhere. They abstain from smoking,

\* The English reader is no doubt aware that one hundred *centimes* are equal to a franc, and that a franc is equal to nine pence sterling.



because the Scripture has said that there is more evil in what comes from the mouth than what enters it. Nothing would induce them to eat pigeons, because the Holy Ghost is represented under the shape of a dove. A friend is never asked for salt at table, because if he forgets to smile on offering it, a quarrel is sure to take place soon after. If you admire a child for its beauty, you must not praise it in its mother's presence, because if by some accident she is prevented from spitting upon it immediately, an evil of some kind is sure to befall it. Monday is a day on which no undertaking is commenced. God chose it as the first of the world's creation, and as man sinned, it has become an unlucky day.

Such is the train of absurd prejudices for which the inhabitants of Gloukoff are famed; and they must indeed be strongly governed by them to obtain so great a celebrity for their adherence to them, for they are to be met with in every other part of Russia, not excepting Moscow and St. Petersburg.

We next proceeded to Batoorine, once the residence of the celebrated Mazeppa, the hero of one of the most vivid productions of Lord Byron's pen. This man was, in his youth, page to John Casimir of Poland. An intrigue with the wife of a Polish nobleman was attended with consequences



of a rather uncommon nature. The husband caused him to be fastened on a wild horse, and then drove off the horse at full gallop in a barren plain. The beast found its way back to Ukraine, from which it had originally come, and carried Mazeppa safe and sound, though half dead with hunger and fatigue. Some peasants took him off, and brought him to their hamlet, where he remained some time, making frequent excursions with them against the Tartars, in which he distinguished himself. His bravery reached the ears of Peter I., who took him into his service, and soon raised him to the rank of hetman of the Cossacks. In this station he ceased not to meditate the deliverance of his country from the Muscovite yoke; but fortune would have it otherwise. The battle of Pultava destroyed all his hopes, and he became a fugitive with the northern hero, who sought an asylum in the dominions of the sultan.

Batoorine is a considerable town, situated on the borders of an extensive lake, which adds greatly to the beauty of its aspect. It is the property of Prince Razoumoffski, many years ambassador from the court of St. Petersburg to that of Vienna. The prince has permanently fixed his residence in Austria, having preferred ending his days near old friends to returning to a



place which he has not visited for upwards of twenty years. This instance of the force of habit reminds me of the story of an old man at Venice, who had been detained for twenty years a prisoner in one of the dungeons of the ducal palace. When the French took possession of Venice this man was set at liberty ; and the soldiers who had been commissioned to unlock the gates of his dungeon were desirous of attending him to his former residence. He could no longer find traces of it. The quarter in which he lived had undergone a complete change ; no one had the least recollection of him, and all his children and relatives had died. Finding himself thus isolated in the world, a complete stranger in a city which he had never quitted, he shed bitter tears, and solicited as an act of grace that he might be allowed to return to his dungeon, which had now greater attractions for him than his former home.

The *château* of Prince Razoumoffski at Batoorine, and the grounds attached to it, are magnificent, though much neglected. We visited every part of them, not excepting the chapel, in which rest the remains of the celebrated Marshal Razoumoffski. Although the style of sculpture of the tomb is rather inferior, there is a profusion and variety of marbles, with bronze and gilt or-



naments, which give it an appearance of grandeur.

The steward of the domain lived in the *château*, and very obligingly went with us to point out every thing that was worth seeing. His services dated from the brilliant days of the late Marshal Razoumoffski ; and all he said of that period would have made fit subjects for a new series of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Every thing that oriental splendour and European magnificence could devise was to be met with in this abode of the celebrated warrior. Balls, theatrical representations, tournaments, hunting by torch-light, banquets, illuminations, fireworks, succeeded each other without intermission. To this continual *fracas* was added the frequent discharge of artillery, kept for the purpose of firing salutes when toasts were proposed at table, and for other merry purposes. Of all this animation and magnificence, nothing now remained but a profound solitude. Thistles grew among the roses ; the beautiful avenues have become forests ; the nightingale no longer came to delight with its amorous note ; the *château* was falling into ruins ; and in its vast apartments where formerly all was bustle, noise, and revelry, nothing else was now heard but the sound of one's footsteps, the scream of bats, and the hissing of the wind.



We returned at last to the homely dwelling we had selected as a resting-place during the few hours we had agreed to remain at Batoorine. Our landlord, though a man of seventy, did not appear to be more than forty years of age. He was still a very good-looking man, and was married to a very young woman, who, he said, was greatly attached to him. The day before our arrival she had presented him with a pledge of her affection, and we were admitted into her bedroom to pay the compliment which is customary here on such occasions. My friend and I placed each of us a gold ducat under the pillow of the *accouchée*, kissed her on the forehead, and departed.

In the early part of June we arrived at Negin, a large and very populous town, but very badly built, and hardly containing any edifices of a superior description. We put up at an inn called *The Golden Lion*, where we found decent apartments, good fare, tolerable wine, and very excellent hydromel.\* On the morning after our arrival Sergius directed my attention to a peasant in the

\* A drink made of honey and water, one of the most pleasant and universal beverages the northern part of Europe affords, as well as one of the most ancient. Hippocrates prescribed it as a common beverage to patients labouring under a fever, where there was no tendency to a delirium.



yard of our inn, who was performing his toilet apparently unmindful of the public eye. He was at least an hour in adjusting his lower garments. First of all he wrapped round each of his legs several pieces of coarse cloth, which were carefully fastened and tightened by common cord; then he twisted, or rather wove, round his feet a kind of a buskin, with slips of young and pliant bark. "All that," observed Sergius, after the operation was completed, "will only leave him when it falls in tatters!" It is very singular that in so severe a climate as that of Russia the peasants, who are much more than any other class exposed to the inclemency of the weather, do not wear any thing round their necks. Perhaps their beards, which they all of them suffer to grow, in some slight degree supply this deficiency.

There is a considerable manufactory at Negin of black and red leather, the produce of which is in particular repute in other parts of Russia, and is even made an article of exportation into foreign countries. One of the principal directors of that establishment assured me that the superior quality of the leather worked there, in regard to pliancy and smell, is owing to a secret process known at this establishment alone; and that all those who are admitted to work in it are previously made to undergo the formality of an oath that they will



never divulge or otherwise make use of what may happen to come to their knowledge concerning that process.

We had some difference with the postmaster of this town, arising from the wording of our *podorojni*, or post-order, which appeared to him not to entitle us strictly to the number of horses we required and had used so far. Although my companion's rank as a colonel in the army was duly recorded in this paper, nothing was said of my *rank*, though my name and qualifications were duly stated therein. In Russia each man's station in the world is made to correspond with military rank, and each rank is entitled to the use of a certain number of horses. At every post-house throughout the empire a tariff is kept, by which the postmaster has to determine, on the inspection of the *podorojni*, as to the number of horses to which the traveller is entitled. But it rarely occurs that the traveller's qualifications are inquired into on the road ; inasmuch as, it being customary to pay once for all, on setting out, for the amount of the post-horse charge as far as the place of destination specified in the *podorojni*, the postmasters generally take it for granted that the number of horses with which the traveller has originally set out has not been altered on the



journey. In the present instance, however, it was through mere chance that our *podorojni* was inspected; and the postmaster thought he would display his zeal by raising some difficulties. His objections, however, were soon set at rest, by the very simple observation of my friend, that as *he* was entitled to the number of horses our carriage wanted, it mattered little whether others who were in it did or did not possess all the requisite qualifications.

The road that leads from Negin to Kioff is perhaps the finest in Russia. It is kept in the best possible order, and is bordered by trees which form a magnificent and almost uninterrupted avenue the whole way. There are wells near it at every eight or ten miles, intended chiefly for the relief of the numerous pilgrims who are incessantly arriving from, or returning to, different parts of the interior. What general convenience does not appear to suggest elsewhere in the empire religion seems to prescribe in the government which has the "holy" city for its capital. The traveller becomes aware that he is drawing near a place of first-rate importance at a much greater distance than when he is proceeding either to Moscow or St. Petersburg; and when within seven wersts of the town it presents itself to view,



situated partly on an eminence. The numerous gilt cupolas of its churches, the whiteness of its splendid edifices, and an immense number of tents of pilgrims spread over the extensive plain which surrounds it, altogether form a spectacle the most original and picturesque that can be witnessed.



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## CHAPTER III.

Arrival at Kioff—Description of the place—Its celebrity in Russia and Poland—General Miloradovitch—Prince Ipsilanti—Ghost stories—Two men executed and yet still living—Grand fête at the governor's.

WE arrived at Kioff about the middle of June, having been exactly six weeks in performing the journey from Moscow. We were in no haste, but on the contrary rather desirous to protract our stay in the most remarkable places which lay on our route, for the purpose of examining every thing that was worthy of notice.

Kioff is one of the most interesting and important cities of the Russian empire. It is said to have been founded so long ago as the year 430, by a Prince Kia, from whom it is generally believed to have derived its name. There are, however, various opinions on this subject, and that of the



historiographer Tatitchef, who thinks that it is derived from the Sarmatian word for mountain, is considered by some as the most correct. But the point is one of less importance to the general reader than to the natives or frequenters of the place ; therefore I shall leave to future Russian historians the task of setting it at rest.

Kioff was governed by princes of different nations until the year 968, when the Russians took possession of it. Since then it has never changed masters, but for a short time in 1239, when it was occupied by the Tartars. Prince Jeroslav Wladimir made it the capital of the empire ; but after being taken by the Tartars the seat of government was transferred to a place more likely to be out of their reach. The mortal remains of almost all the national saints of Muscovy have been deposited within the precincts of Kioff. There is an immense subterraneous vault in the convent of Petchersky where their skeletons are preserved. Every one of the saints is dressed in rich pontifical robes, and lies in an open coffin. It is at the shrine of this numerous assemblage of holy defuncts that the zealous followers of the Muscovite church come to pay their devotions from every part of the empire. As the journey is invariably performed on foot, when that is the exclusive object, the pilgrimage takes place in summer.



The obstacles against that mode of travelling in any other part of the year render it impracticable.

Kioff is also celebrated in Russia for a kind of annual fair which is held there, called the *Contracts of Kioff*. This fair is always held in January, opening on the 10th, and closing on the 30th of that month. It is attended by landed proprietors, opulent farmers, corn-dealers, merchants, capitalists, and money lenders, from all parts of Russia and Poland, and even from other countries of Europe. There is no market for goods, nor any to be viewed ; but all the men of business assemble every day on the public exchange, where they negotiate anticipated sales and purchases in grain of all kinds, chiefly wheat, treat on the disposal or lease of lands and other estates, on the sale of horses and other cattle, and the conditions of loans in money. Most of the merchants of Odessa come here, and enter into contracts for the future delivery of any quantity of wheat of the next crop. A great number of the Polish nobility come, with their families, for mere amusement ; so that the place presents perhaps one of the most animated and bustling scenes that can be met with in any part of Europe. Dinners, concerts, balls, and fêtes of all kinds every day succeed to the transactions of business ; and at night perhaps more money is won and lost at play than by any



of the regular bargains entered into in the morning. I have been assured that many Polish noblemen of moderate fortunes spend eleven months of the year on their estates, in the strictest economy, that they may lay by a sufficient portion of their incomes to pass in splendour and extravagance the month of January at the *Contracts of Kioff*. It may be easily imagined that rogues and sharpers are to be met with there in great numbers, and from all parts of the world; and it is calculated that they generally contrive to come off with a considerable booty. The passion of many of the Polish nobility for play blinds them to such a degree that they are totally unmindful as to the character of the persons they associate with for the purposes of gambling, and, as must necessarily happen, they generally pay dearly for their want of precaution.

The convent of Petchersky was of course one of the first places I went to visit after my arrival at Kioff. Sergius accompanied me, though he had seen it many times before. Several attendants of the convent led the way to the vaults, holding torches in their hands, as is done in showing the catacombs of Rome. One of the priests attended, and enumerated all the miracles performed by each of the saints whose coffin we approached. Sergius never failed to make the sign of the cross, kiss devoutly the hand of the holy



skeleton, and place on it a silver rouble. Our *cicerone* expressed surprise that I did not follow his example ; and the good man could not be made to understand that I was of a Christian persuasion which was not exactly that of the Russians. He observed that it was impossible I should be a Christian at all. His church, in fact, prescribes that only those who are christened according to its rites shall be considered Christians ; and the lower clergy in this country are too uneducated to estimate the shades that divide Christian sects. This reminded me, however, of the case of a peasant in France, who was at a sermon on Good Friday, during which every one of the congregation shed tears as a matter of course. He alone remained unmoved. His neighbour, greatly scandalised at this breach of propriety, shook him by the sleeve, and asked him why he did not weep ? “ Why should I ? ” answered the boor ; “ I do not belong to the parish ! ”

We were led out of the vaults by an opposite issue. A priest then offered us some water to drink, contained in the hollow of an iron cross. This water is considered a purifier of a good number of sins, especially if the purchase of a few amulets which are offered at the same time is not omitted. Another priest then conducted us to the treasury of the convent, which was said to contain



things of very great value. We were shown a great number of church ornaments, embroidered with fine pearls, some large vases of gold and of silver, more valuable on account of their weight than workmanship, and a great number of Bibles, the bindings of some of which were set with precious stones. We then proceeded to visit the arsenal of the citadel, which is close by the convent. A few invalids who did duty there showed us some ancient armours, in which there was nothing remarkable, and some trophies, taken from the Persians, the Turks, and the Swedes.

Soon after our arrival we waited on General Miloradovitch, governor of the province, to whom Sergius introduced me. Miloradovitch was one of Suwaroff's favourite aides-de-camp, and had distinguished himself on a great number of occasions as a minor officer, and as a commander. At the opening of the war between the Russians and Turks, in 1806, the commander-in-chief of the Russian army which invaded Moldavia having been apprised that a numerous corps of Turks had retired into Bukorest, the capital of Wallachia, which they intended to set on fire and abandon on the approach of the Russians, detached Miloradovitch with a division of 6,000 men, in the hope of taking the Turks by surprise, and saving the place from destruction. Miloradovitch succeeded by



forced marches in reaching Bukorest before the Turks had received intelligence that the Russians had crossed the Pruth. So great was their consternation that they thought of nothing but flight; and while the Russians were entering at one end of the town the Turks were retreating with the utmost precipitation at the other. The service rendered by Miloradovitch to the inhabitants was acknowledged by splendid presents on their part; and among other testimonies from his sovereign, he received a sword, richly ornamented with diamonds, on which were traced the words "To the Saviour of Bukorest." I found him an extremely amiable man; and the civilities we experienced from him during our stay at Kioff were the more acceptable as it was the dullest season of the year there. As all the landholders spend the summer on their estates, Kioff was entirely deserted by those who constitute its best society. All the public places of amusement were deserted, and the theatre was closed. At the governor's house, however, there was always an assemblage of persons whose official duties obliged them to reside in town, and their families were sufficiently numerous to form a brilliant circle.

The only inhabitant of any note who was not detained in Kioff on account of any official business was the Prince Ipsilanti, formerly hospodar



of Wallachia and Moldavia. I had been on intimate terms of acquaintance with his son Alexander at St. Petersburg, by whom I was recommended to the hospodar. Under these auspices, the reception I met with at his house was most cordial and friendly. The prince had chosen Kioff for his residence, chiefly owing to its vicinity to the principalities over which he had formerly governed, and in which he possessed a great deal of landed property. I never could understand why he had been withdrawn from the government of the principalities by those very Russians who declared war against the Turks, partly on pretence of their having recalled Ipsilanti previous to the regular period stipulated in the treaties. They had even sought to repair this infraction by sending an army to reinstate by force the hospodar, who had been prematurely recalled. He was in fact placed again at the head of the government, and continued in office for two years after the Russian armies had occupied the principalities, at the end of which he received the emperor's order to withdraw, and the government was confided to the military commander-in-chief. This cannot have been the effect of any misconduct on his part, as the emperor at the same time transmitted to him the most flattering marks of approbation, by making the title of prince hereditary in his family, giving him a very



fine estate in Russia, and sending him the grand cross of St. Andrew and other Russian orders.

When I first called on Prince Ipsilanti I found him surrounded by the junior branches of his family, and a number of servants of both sexes, natives of different parts of Greece and Turkey, all of whom had preserved their original dress, and formed altogether a group which was as interesting to me as it was new.

Among other acquaintances which I formed at Kioff was that of Count Pankratieff, the civil governor. I went to spend the evening at his house, where some ladies were assembled. After tea and music we all withdrew into a delightful apartment, so far projecting into the garden as to be almost completely surrounded with flowers. Here it was proposed that every one should relate some story of a terrific kind. The lights were put out, and every one duly prepared himself to have his hair properly stand on end. One related the story of Madame Lamotte, the result of which was the *auto-da-fé* of Desrues ; another, the particulars of the Empress Elizabeth's vision, who thought she was seated on her throne, surrounded by all her court, three days before she died ; Sergius not having any ghost story to tell, related the singular chances of fortune which had befallen to a Prince Gagarin, who, having in the course of one



night lost at play his estate, his houses, his money, his jewels, and every thing of value he possessed, to the very carriage and horses which were waiting for him at the door, was so fortunate as to win all back again by staking the harnesses of his horses, which by a lucky chance had not been included in the equipage he had lost. Out of gratitude he has placed this set of harness under a fine glass covering in a conspicuous part of his house at Moscow. When my turn came I apologised for having nothing marvellous to relate of the ghost kind; but I begged permission to state the particulars of an adventure which might pass as being wonderful, inasmuch as it related to two men who had been regularly shot, and who, nevertheless, remained in perfect health. The circumstances are in fact curious, and as they are of unquestionable authenticity, they will perhaps bear repetition here.

“Two men of the name of Roux, father and son, who are still living, and are employed in the navy office at Toulon, were condemned to death after the evacuation of that place by the English, on pretence of having betrayed the interests of France. They were, with 900 others, ordered to be shot at a place called *le champ de bataille*. Without being made to undergo any form of trial, without even having had an opportunity of being



heard in explanation of their conduct, they were torn from the bosom of their family, and taken to the place of execution. When all the intended victims were placed in a heap in the middle of the plain, several field-pieces loaded with grape-shot were brought up close to them, as well as a regiment of cavalry and one of infantry, which were to charge those whom the cannon had not wholly destroyed, and finish them. The two Roux had been separated from each other. The son, fearful lest the first discharge of cannon should not despatch him with sufficient speed, placed himself as much forward as he possibly could. He was so close to the battery, that when the guns went off the power of the explosion knocked him down. That instinct which impels mankind to the preservation of life made him feign that he was dead when the cavalry were ordered to charge. A dragoon gave him a sabre cut, which made a large though not dangerous wound on his back. The infantry came after, and one of the soldiers perceiving that young Roux had not ceased to breathe, gave him a violent blow on the head with the butt-end of his musket, which so completely stunned him, that he lay for several hours senseless on the ground. The slain having been left on the *champ de bataille* to be all removed the next morning for interment, were soon stripped of their garments



by the liberated prisoners of the bagnio, and all left nearly naked. During the night young Roux gradually recovered the use of his senses. It was with the utmost difficulty that he recalled to memory what had occurred. The horrors of the day presented themselves at last fully to his mind. He rose to quit if possible this scene of death, and it was then that he perceived he was naked and covered with blood. He sought to find some garments among the dead by whom he was surrounded, and in his efforts to take off from the body of one of the unfortunate men some clothes which had escaped the pillage, he found that life was not extinct in him. The desire of saving a fellow-creature prompted every means that could bring timely relief, and they were not used in vain. The joy and surprise of both may be easily conceived when they discovered that they were the father and son. They alone had escaped the carnage! It was with difficulty they could procure sufficient clothing from among the surrounding victims of this act of unheard-of atrocity, in order to withdraw from the horrid scene. Fortunately for them, no sentinel had been stationed to watch over this field of butchery, and the Roux returned without any obstacle to their house. It was with the utmost difficulty they obtained access to it. At that time of night the afflicted family did not suppose that



they were roused for any other purpose than that of furnishing new victims to the blood-thirsty agents of anarchy and destruction. No words could express the sensations of the wife and children on beholding again those whose supposed destruction had plunged them into grief and despair. Their wounds were immediately dressed, and before daylight they retired to their country house, situated a few leagues in the interior of Provence, where they remained concealed until the 'reign of terror' was no more, and the cannibals of the south had ceased to have their day. They then returned to Toulon, to the amazement of their friends and acquaintances, many of whom could not, for a long time, persuade themselves that they were not the ghosts of the two men who had been included in the massacre of the *champ de bataille*. These two men to this day live, esteemed and respected by their fellow-citizens, by whom the particulars of their most fortunate escape are not forgotten."

My story did not appear to gain much credit as an authentic one among my auditory. I was not surprised at this: during our revolution things have occurred which were so completely opposed to the common impulses of mankind, so revolting and atrocious in their details, that in the distance of years, and with posterity, they are likely to be con-



sidered as fabulous. A discussion took place on the subject of the French revolution ; Napoleon's reign and politics were reviewed in turn, and the general affairs of Europe gave rise to a long dissertation, which was agreeably interrupted by the announcement that supper was ready. We sat down to a well-served table, where the conversation took a more lively turn than we had previously agreed to give it.

A few days after our arrival General Miloradovitch gave a grand fête, on some public occasion, which was attended by all the best society of the province. The governor had sent invitations to all the persons of any distinction within reach several days previously, accompanied by a particular request that they should be attended to. Such a request was, in fact, equivalent to a command ; and though most people came to Kioff for twenty-four hours only, I had thus an opportunity of seeing what is properly called the society of the nobility of the province. The fête consisted of a ball, a splendid supper, an illumination of the extensive gardens of the government-house, and fireworks. The scene in the garden presented, in miniature, an imitation of our Tivoli in Paris. The governor opened the ball with Madame Davidoff, the daughter of the Duke de Grammont, who, like myself, had been driven by the events in



France to seek with his family a refuge in foreign lands. The accomplishments and personal attractions of Mademoiselle de Grammont had made a powerful impression on Colonel Davidoff, one of the richest men in Russia, who eagerly sought and obtained her hand. Since his marriage the colonel has quitted the military service, and usually resides with his wife in the neighbourhood of Kioff, where he possesses considerable estates. Madame Davidoff was the first native of my country I had met since our departure from Moscow; and as, on the other hand, she was not much in the habit of meeting and conversing with her countrymen in this part of the world, our acquaintance together was speedily formed on this occasion, and from her I learned every thing that was worth knowing of the most distinguished persons who were present. Between each dance a vocal and an instrumental performance took place, in the former of which some singers of celebrity figured, and in the latter Lafond and Romberg delighted the company with solos and duets on the violin and violoncello. The revelries were protracted till nine o'clock the next morning, when a splendid breakfast was served in the garden, after which every one repaired to his bed.

Among the most valuable acquaintances that I



formed at Kioff during my stay there was that of the venerable General Shaplitz, the intimate friend and former companion in arms of the celebrated Prince de Ligne, of whom I shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this work. The general had formed part of the suite of the Empress Catherine, in her journey to the Crimea, of which the Prince de Ligne, and subsequently the Count de Ségur, have given to the world the interesting particulars.

The long and adventurous career of the Prince de Ligne is so replete with curious and extraordinary incidents, that it might have afforded matter to Madame de Stael for more than two volumes of his "Thoughts." There is an original piquancy and charm in every thing that he ever wrote or uttered; but his conversation possessed a power of fascination which might have justified his eulogists in saying, "If you are astonished at what I relate of him, what would you be had you heard him?" The reader will no longer have an opportunity of *hearing* the prince, inasmuch as his mortal career was closed in 1815. But in the volume which follows the present one he will find abundance of matter which will supply deficiencies in what has either been said or written of him.

In reference to the monastery of Petchersky, one of the great curiosities of the place, as I have



shown in the beginning of this chapter, General Shaplitz informed me that according to the Polish historian, Czacki, whose works have never been translated, and are less known even among his countrymen than they ought to be, the origin of that convent dates with the close of the eleventh century. Towards that period, when the mania of cenobitism had reached its utmost height, three hermits came and took up their abode in an extensive cave which had been dug by a band of robbers who had long infested that neighbourhood, and were the terror of all who happened to be within reach. Other men devoted to a monastic life joined the three hermits in the sequel, and enlarged the caverns, and in a short time they formed a religious community, of which the senior in years, Antonius, was elected chief. Hence the name of *Petchersky*, which means *the convent of the caverns*, since given to the spot. These caverns have served as the depositories of the remains of these pious men, who have since received the honors of canonisation; and the sumptuous building which now covers their subterraneous habitations was raised soon after they had ceased to be their living inmates. The remains of other men whose lives have entitled them to *post mortem* veneration have since been added to the original number. Among these was Nestor, the most



esteemed historian of Russia ; and who is, in fact, the only monastic writer of his time who has carefully abstained from obscuring historical truth by the prejudices of religious superstition. His remains were placed in a separate vault, apparently with the view of showing that greater homage was due to productive genius than to inactive piety.

The few weeks' stay I made at Kioff I shall always remember as part of the most agreeable time that I passed in Russia. Had not arrangements been made which could not be altered without being productive of great inconvenience, I should have prolonged my stay there until after the season of the contracts. It was with the utmost regret that I took leave of those of my acquaintance from whom I had met with so many kind attentions ; and my friend Sergius being resolved to continue the journey with me, we again set off together in the prosecution of it.



## CHAPTER IV.

Gribouski—Gipsies—Some remarks relative to their origin and manners—Russian vocal concert—A poetical cook—Count de Witt—Practice of bathing in Russia—Count Branitzki's estates—Polish Jews—Some remarks on the general character of that race—Rougin—Tornitz—Capuchin convent—Its romantic origin.

GRIBOUSKI is the name of the first place of any note to which we came after leaving Kioff. It is a small town, where a considerable fair is held, which attracts the whole population of the neighbouring parts. In an extensive plain on the outside of it a vast number of gipsies usually take up their abode. They fix their tents in a semi-circular form, that of their chief being always in the centre. Their traffic is generally with the peasants, in cattle and productions of the soil, and they have always a great quantity of iron utensils



to dispose of which are manufactured by themselves. This produce of their industry is, as in many of the half civilised countries of the east, where they are to be met with, their principal resource. The numerous tents which figure in this immense plain, and the bustle among their busy occupants, put one in mind of an encampment of Tartars, who have to the present day preserved the simple manners and roving habits of primitive ages, but with whom, at the same time, the best impulses of the human heart have remained uncontaminated. With the gipsies such is not the case. They have acquired all the vices of men, and are unacquainted with their good qualities.

There is in the whole Russian empire a great number of gipsies, who are called by a name almost different by the nations comprised in that empire, among whom they take up their abode. The origin of that name, however, appears to be nearly the same as that from which it was probably derived in other parts of Europe. They are called *Tsyganis* in Hungary, *Zigeuns* in Germany, *Zingari* in Italy, *Tsygan* in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Greece, and *Tchenggen* among the Turks. During the last four hundred years that they have been known to stroll as vagabonds and strangers



on the western and eastern portions of the globe, among civilised and industrious nations, as well as among barbarous hordes, they have preserved unaltered the appearance and manners of their fathers. Neither driven away, tolerated, nor encouraged, they contrive to maintain themselves every where; every where calling themselves the people of Pharaoh. These remnants of a wandering race, whose true origin has not yet been properly traced, are evidently the same wherever they are to be found, and their mode of life reminds us of the exact state in which mankind once lived, and still ought perhaps to live. The burning sun of Africa does not render their complexion darker than it naturally is, and the frigid temperature of the long Russian winter makes it not any fairer. They do not become lazy by living among the indolent Spaniards, nor are they stimulated by the example of the industrious classes in northern Europe. Christ among the Christians, and Mahomet among the Mahometans, are equally disregarded by them. Why should we not hope that at a period like the present, when knowledge is making so rapid a progress among all classes of mankind, some extraordinary exertion will be used to bring this race within the pale of civilisation? To me it has appeared most strange that no government



in Europe has hitherto bestowed a thought on the amelioration of their condition. At present they are worse than useless in the countries which they inhabit: they consume without producing any thing of use. If they do not steal, they beg; and if they do neither, it is because idleness renders them inactive. Whichever way, however, they are considered, it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion that they are a nuisance and a charge.

We were tempted to make a longer stay at Gribouski than we originally intended by a variety of incidents, the most attractive of which was an invitation sent to us by one of its principal inhabitants to attend a concert which he intended to give on the evening after our arrival. The nature of this entertainment, and the extraordinary preparations which had been made for it, were described to us in such a manner as to excite our curiosity. It was, in fact, as splendid an affair as, in most respects, circumstances would allow; and the musical performance, consisting entirely of singing, was of an excellence that had not been surpassed at any brilliant concert ever given either at St. Petersburg or at Moscow. The vocalists were all Russians, inhabitants of Gribouski or its neighbourhood, and were possessed of the most pure and melodious voices it was possible to listen



to. There was no instrumental accompaniment ; but as the pieces selected were sung by a great number of both sexes, the want of that ordinary requisite was not so much felt, and the harmony produced was of the most exquisite kind. The style of music was exclusively Russian, as well as the words of the songs. There was great simplicity and sweetness in the melody of the former, and the latter appeared as well adapted to singing as any Italian words could possibly be.

A very excellent supper succeeded to the vocal performances, served in a Parisian style. The owner of the house in which we were thus agreeably entertained informed us that the person who had prepared this supper was an amateur of the culinary art, who happened to be at that moment at Gribouski, but was anxiously looking out for some traveller of distinction for the purpose of offering his services, as he could not render them available with any advantage to himself among the inhabitants of so obscure a place. He strongly recommended him to our notice ; and as the specimen before us gave us the best possible opinion of his *savoir faire*, we requested he might be sent to us. Early on the following morning a little man, about four feet six in height, presented himself before us, with a smiling face and a confident



step. He produced a bundle of papers, from some of which it appeared that he had been director of a theatre in Prussia ; and from others, that he had exercised the profession of teacher of geography and of natural history in Lithuania. All this had no reference to any culinary qualifications, and we were rather surprised when he told us that he was the candidate for the vacant functions in the cooking department of our suite. But as the banquet of the preceding night was the best certificate of that portion of his polytechnic acquirements that he could possibly have produced, I felt disposed to take him into our service, and reminded my friend Sergius of Beaumarchais' saying in his celebrated *Marriage of Figaro*, *Il falloit un mathématicien pour un emploi ; ce fut un danseur qui l'obtint*. A precedent so irresistible vanquished at once every difficulty which Sergius might have raised, and this Prussian Gil Blas was admitted into our service for the period of our travels in Russia.

The first occasion which called for the exercise of his functions occurred on the day after we left Gribouski. Having fallen in, about noon, with the young Count de Witt,\* with whom both Ser-

\* Count de Witt was the son of the celebrated Countess Potocka,



gius and myself were intimately acquainted, and the weather being the most delightful that could be imagined, we all agreed to get out of our carriages, and retire under an inviting cluster of magnificent trees not far distant from the road, and there take our dinner, and spend a few agreeable hours together. Having a large canteen with every necessary cooking utensil, we procured fowls and other provisions from the neighbouring village, which, together with our travelling supply of pickled sturgeon, caviar, olives, ham, dried fruit, and wine, formed altogether a sumptuous repast, rendered doubly acceptable by the excellent appetites we had by this time acquired. Our poetical cook treated us also with some of his dramatic effusions, and closed this substantial and intellectual treat with some cups of coffee, made

by her first husband, who was a descendant of the grand-pensioner de Witt, and a general in the Russian service. The military career of Count de Witt has been brilliant and rapid. At the age of 16 he had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and at 18 he was colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers (called the cuirassiers of the empress), one of the finest in Russia. During the late campaigns his advancement was equally rapid, though solely the effect of the manner in which he distinguished himself on a variety of occasions. In 1828 he was raised to the rank of general-in-chief, and he is now governor of one of the most extensive of the southern provinces of the empire.



in all the perfection in which it is to be found in any of the capitals of Germany.

We quitted with regret our friend De Witt, and resumed our progress. Our approach to the small town of Vassilkoff enabled us to witness a scene not uncommon in Russia, but which was here of a more remarkable kind than I had yet seen it. In a lake which is at a short distance from that town a great number of young men and women were bathing together in a state of complete nudity, apparently unmindful of being seen in their "native nakedness." Nor indeed did they seem at all conscious of any impropriety in this. They played all kinds of tricks with each other in the water, and appeared to be actuated by no thought but innocent amusement. I will not take it upon myself to attest that every one of the damsels who indulged in these watery sports could be justified in calling herself a qualified candidate for the crown of the *Rosiere* at Salency, nor that they could all of them in strict conscience wear the red band on their foreheads which the young maidens of Ukraine preserve until the wedding day; but I must suppose that where this custom has been of long standing abuses are rare. With my friend and me, however, the scene was rather novel, and fixed our



attention merely from the circumstance well known to us of the perfect form said to be peculiar to the young women of all ranks in Poland. On this occasion we found that the voice of fame had not proclaimed too much. It reminded me of the picture given by Lady Wortley Montague of the baths of women at Constantinople, and I should have defied her to say as much again of her Circassian beauties after seeing these children of nature, as unconscious of their perfections as they seemed to be of the indecency of exposing them to the public gaze.

We stopped but an hour or two at Vassilkoff, and proceeded on our way to Squiera, in the neighbourhood of which the Count Branitzki possesses a country seat, called Alexandria, celebrated as much for its architectural magnificence as for the beauty of the extensive gardens and pleasure-grounds with which it is surrounded. The count sent one of his men to show us every thing that was worth seeing. The most remarkable feature of this place is, that the house and its grounds are situated in the midst of a wilderness. But industry and expense have made of it a species of enchanted spot, the effect of which on the imagination is such as no pen can describe. The Countess Branitzki being a niece



of the celebrated Prince Potemkin, the friend and patron of her husband, we were not surprised at finding a multitude of monuments on the grounds raised to his memory, and inscriptions almost at every step descriptive of the public acts which had distinguished the prince's long career of favoritism, under the *Semiramide du Nord*. Although much readiness was evinced by the opulent lord of the manor for the exhibition of his splendid grounds, he did not think proper to accompany this with the slightest demonstration of hospitality. Count Branitzki possesses immense estates in this neighbourhood and in other parts of Poland. Estates in land are valued in that country by the number of peasants who reside on them. Those of Count Branitzki are said to amount to no less than eighty thousand: calculating every thousand peasants to be worth one million of florins, according to the usual rate of valuation, his fortune is equal to eighty millions of florins.\*

We had entered Poland without perceiving any difference whatever in the aspect of the country, the appearance and dress of the people, the form of the peasants' huts, or the architecture of the

\* Three millions sterling.



rich men's mansions. To a foreign ear, even the difference between the Polish and Russian languages is imperceptible, until after some length of residence in each country. In fact the incorporated provinces of Poland had become so thoroughly Russian, that we had yet met with nothing indicative of our being among a people who had but till lately been distinct and separate from their neighbours, until our arrival at the town of Rougin, where the population is almost entirely composed of genuine sons of Israel. In this part of Poland the Jews are extremely numerous, though it would be difficult to say what greater attraction they find here than in other parts of the empire. Their mode of living is as distinct in Poland as it is in every country they inhabit: they take no part in agricultural pursuits; nor are they to be found residing elsewhere but in towns and populous villages. The streets of Rougin were filled with them when we entered that place, and crowds of them followed our carriage and surrounded us when we got out of it, clamorously offering their services as *factors*, as they call in this country those whose avocations correspond with the duties of a *valet de place* in France.

The Jews in Poland begin to read the Old Testa-



ment at the age of nine ; at ten they read the Jewish law ; at thirteen the commandments, and at fifteen the Talmud ; at eighteen they marry, and at twenty they study trade and every means whereby money is to be acquired. Their clothes are always made of plain stuffs ; and they practise ablutions every morning. They do not eat the flesh of any animal which ruminates. Their law prescribes that on the Sabbath day they shall never light nor extinguish a fire, neither must they speak of business, handle any precious metals, or even bathe. A strict adherence to all these precepts is necessarily productive of great inconvenience to travellers, as in the minor towns in Poland the *trachtirs*, or houses of entertainment and accommodation, are all without exception kept by Jews, and no lodging is to be obtained among Christians. The vexations of all kinds to which the Jews are subject in this country appear to me in various ways impolitic, besides being wantonly oppressive. Much might be gained if, instead of their being kept under a pressure of humiliation, a policy were adopted whereby their faculties were directed to the public good. In a country where they form so large a portion of the population this could not fail being productive of general utility. Their peculiar aptitude for arts and manufactures



would render their industry highly useful to the community. A great number of agricultural hands would be acquired, and the land-owner, as well as the state, would derive considerable benefit from their co-operation in matters of husbandry. Thus, instead of being as they are, a species of leeches on their Christian fellow-subjects, and an unavailable and useless portion of the subjects of the state, they would ease the former of public burdens, and increase the income of the latter. It is true that great difficulty would be encountered in the early part of the attempt to induce them to change their mode of living. Their education and their habits have given them an aversion for agricultural pursuits which would not be easily conquered. They do not wish to adopt any profession but that of trade; and as their ruling passion is an avidity for money, they think that it is more easily gratified by the exercise of their skill in cheating their neighbours in matters of traffic than by honest industry. Their intolerant religion, too, which teaches them to despise, and accustoms them to detest other nations, strengthens their aversion against any mode of life at all calculated to separate them from each other, and weaken that *esprit de corps* which is peculiar to their race. But all these



difficulties would be removed by the progress of time and good government. Meanwhile I do not see why they should not be compelled to establish manufactures whereby the indigent might gain support, the children be brought up in habits of useful industry, and themselves abandon a life of sloth and idleness so extremely detrimental to the proper balance of social order.

We are every where struck with the excess of hatred and contempt entertained for Jews in Christian as well as other countries. This however is necessarily the effect of their own legislation, which made it indispensable that they should domineer or be trod upon. Their policy ought to have changed instead of prevailing to the extent it has done. Superstition has grown among them with misfortune, and they have preserved every custom which is opposed to social usage: they have therefore been treated as opposed in every thing to other nations. Servile from excess of avarice, detesting others through fanaticism, and professing usury as a duty incumbent on their race, it is not to be wondered that among the people in Poland, as well as in some other countries, there should exist no sympathy, no sort of kindly feeling for them. In fact, the excess of bigotry and superstition which induces a



human being to consider that he would sin by eating out of a vessel used by a stranger, is too degrading not to engender contempt.

The Jews inhabiting Poland speak a corrupt German, which is only understood among themselves. Most of them are acquainted with Hebrew, but they do not speak it. Their costume, which is rather rich and picturesque, bears much resemblance to that of the Persians. It is possible they have preserved it since their captivity under that nation. In almost every village in Poland there is one or more public houses: they are invariably kept by Jews, who hire them from the land-owners, and make them the means of cheating the common peasants in a thousand ways, and extracting from them the fruits of their daily labour. It is high time that all this should be put an end to; and I know of no other means to be employed for that purpose than those which are in the power of government alone.

From Rougin we proceeded to Maknoffka, a town belonging to Count Proteus Potocki,\* who had engaged three hundred German families to

\* All my readers are not perhaps aware that the proper pronunciation of this name is *Pototzki*. In almost every Polish word in which the letter *c* precedes a *k*, it is pronounced *tz*.



come and reside there, for the purpose of adding activity to its manufactories. The extraordinary exertions, however, of that well-meaning and benevolent nobleman for the prosperity of his tenants had so far surpassed his means, as to produce a result far different from that to which he aimed. His whole fortune became involved; his estates fell into the hands of his creditors, for whose benefit they were sold; and Maknoffka, divided among a great number of proprietors, has fallen into neglect. All the manufacturers have quitted the place, and the great buildings which had been raised for the exercise of their industry have since remained untenanted, and falling to ruins. We found the land in its neighbourhood, however, well cultivated: not far distant is a lake of some extent, which is navigated by the peasants in boats made of the trunks of trees. These boats are propelled by the action of a single oar, with a velocity which might put them in competition with the gondolas of Venice. The peasants gather from the bottom of this lake a species of shell-fish of a considerable size, which is not disagreeable to the taste, and in which are frequently found pearls of the greatest beauty. A great number of German colonists have chosen this part of Poland for their settlement. They



have introduced industry, and have already disseminated its blessings around them. I have frequently conversed with them on their motives for quitting their native country, and the following is the substance of the answer I received from them all: "We had no land at home to cultivate; means failed us in every way: here we enjoy the blessings of hospitality; our industry is not paralysed by shackles of any kind; and these lands, rendered productive by our labour, not only procure us every comfort in life, but also insure prosperity to our children."

Near Tornitz we visited a large monastery of Capuchin friars, situated on the summit of a high mountain. Its inmates appeared indeed as if they were inhabiting an intermediate space between this world and the next. When we reflect on the progress that pride, cupidity, and ambition have made among mankind, it is inconceivable that any should be found willing to devote themselves to a life of humility, seclusion, and privation. The superior of this convent did the honors of the place with great good-humour, and insisted on our inspecting every thing which he thought worthy of our notice. He related to us the particulars of the origin of its foundation. The story partakes so much of the fabulous, that the reader



may derive gratification by its perusal. I shall endeavour to give it as near the superior's words as possible :

“ At the foot of this mountain was formerly situated the chief *château* of a rich palatine, who, after having followed the King John Sobieski to Hotimm and Kaminiek, and assisted in delivering Vienna from the danger of falling into the hands of the Turks, being satiated with glory, and wearied with the toils and fatigues of war, retired to his estate in this neighbourhood to enter on a life of uninterrupted repose. Soon after he took it into his head, that by making the choice of a wife among his own vassals he would meet with a partner in life whose habits of submission and feelings of gratitude for raising her to so exalted a station would render her a more eligible partner in life than one taken from among his equals in rank. He therefore assembled all the young girls residing on his estates, and selected one who, besides being the handsomest, appeared to possess other qualities of an attractive kind. Vanda (so she was called) could not refuse to accede to her master's wishes ; but her heart was by no means free. A young gardener of the *château* had long before possessed himself of it : nor was Severin less passionately attached to Vanda than she was



to him. It was in vain that they both endeavoured to subdue a sentiment which could no longer lead to their mutual happiness. Severin frequently brought flowers to his mistress, and would hardly venture to look her in the face on presenting them. Vanda pitied him, and still loved him; but in the hope that absence would cure them both of their hopeless passion, she requested her husband to appoint him to the stewardship of another of his estates, situated in a distant part of the country. The interest evinced by Vanda in favour of a simple gardener raised some suspicion in the mind of the palatine. He watched their motions, and when Severin came to take leave of his mistress, and knelt to kiss her hand and express his gratitude, he was surprised in that attitude by the palatine, who, rushing into the room with his sabre unsheathed, laid his wife lifeless at his feet. He then attacked the young gardener, who in vain had exerted himself to arrest his fury. After many blows, which did not succeed in depriving him entirely of life, the arrival of attendants, attracted by the noise, checked the palatine's fury, and arrested his arm. After recovering a little from the weakness produced by his loss of blood, Severin required the attendance of a priest, to whom he made a solemn declara-



tion of his innocence, and likewise of that of Vanda.

“After the palatine’s fury had subsided remorse took possession of his soul, and the innocence of Vanda became every day more evident to him. The scene of his rashness incessantly recalled recollections which disturbed his conscience, and he resolved on a pilgrimage to Rome, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness for his crime.\* This was extended to him on condition that he would found a convent near the spot where the guilty act was committed, and consign himself to perpetual seclusion in it by adopting a monastic life. These terms were very exactly complied with by the palatine, who not only enriched the convent by the gift of some valuable estates, but

\* The palatines of Poland could not be arrested for any crime of which they had not been convicted. They exercised, besides, the power of inflicting death on their peasants, and could do so to any extent with impunity provided they deposited a sum equal to twenty florins on the tomb of each of their victims. When a Polish nobleman killed a peasant belonging to another nobleman he was bound to give another in lieu of the murdered man. According to the actual laws of Poland and Russia, no one has the right of taking away the life of a peasant belonging to himself; but it is humiliating to reflect that the power of inflicting any punishment short of death is still enjoyed, and perhaps as much abused as in the most barbarous times.



bequeathed to it all his property at his death. It has therefore become one of the richest convents in Poland."

A variety of old pictures, hung up in one of the principal halls of the convent, represented scenes which had reference to the story of its founder, and more particularly to the act to which its foundation is ascribed.



## CHAPTER V.

Toulchin—Biographical sketch of the celebrated Countess Potocka—  
 —A description of her palace at Toulchin—Mode of living in it  
 —Incessant influx of guests—The province of Ukrania—Flourishing condition of the peasants—Their skill in the use of the axe—Feats of dexterity with it in the province of Masovia—Customs among the ancient nobility—Traits of enthusiastic gallantry among those of the present day.

ONE of the places we were most anxious to visit in this part of Russia was the town of Toulchin, the capital, if I may so call it, of the vast domains possessed by the head of the family of Potocki. That opulent and formerly powerful house was, at the period of my visit there, represented by a woman, the Countess Sophia Potocka,\* the history of whose life had given her even more celebrity in this part of Europe than her immense riches. Madame Potocka was at that time not

\* Where a family name in Poland ends in *ki*, the female part are always designated by the substitution of an *a* for the *i*.



far from her fiftieth year. She had, however, by no means yet lost any of her freshness and vigour, and she was in every respect entitled to the reputation of being a very beautiful woman. Her figure was tall, commanding, graceful, and extremely well formed, and there was an unaffected dignity in her deportment which kept familiarity within the proper limits of good breeding. Her features were extremely well formed; her large black eyes full of expression and vivacity; and an agreeable smile often played upon her lips, which occasionally uncovered a most beautiful set of teeth.

The Countess Potocka was a native of Constantinople, where her father, a reputed descendant of the Cantacuzene family, followed the humble calling of a butcher. In spite of industry and activity, he found great difficulty in earning a sufficiency to pay his way, and maintain his wife and his only daughter, Sophia. The latter had just entered her fourteenth year, and her growing beauty was the admiration of the whole neighbourhood.

Fate ordained that the poor butcher should suffer repeated losses, which reduced him to a condition bordering on beggary. His wife unfolded her distressed circumstances to a Greek, one of her relations, who was dragoman to the



French embassy, and who, in his turn, related the story to the Marquis de Vauban, the ambassador. This nobleman became interested for the unfortunate family, and especially for Sophia, whom the officious dragoman described as being likely to fall into the snares that were laid for her, and to become an inmate of the harem of some pasha, or even of a Turk of inferior rank. Prompted by pity, curiosity, or perhaps by some other motive, the ambassador paid a visit to the distressed family. He saw Sophia, was charmed by her beauty and intelligence, and he proposed that her parents should place her under his care, and allow him to convey her to France. The misery to which the poor people were reduced may perhaps palliate the shame of acceding to this extraordinary proposition; but, be this as it may, they consented to surrender up their daughter for the sum of 1500 piastres, and Sophia was that same day conducted to the ambassador's palace. She found in the Marquis de Vauban a kind and liberal benefactor. He engaged masters to instruct her in every branch of education; and elegant accomplishments, added to her natural charms, rendered her an object of irresistible attraction.

In the course of a few months the ambassador was called home; and he set out, accompanied by



his oriental treasure, to travel to France by land. To diminish as far as possible the fatigue of the long journey, they proceeded by short stages ; and having passed through European Turkey, they arrived at Kaminieck in Podolia, which is the first fortress belonging to Russia. Here the marquis determined to rest for a short time before undertaking the remainder of his tedious journey.

Count de Witt, a descendant of the grand-pensionary of Holland, who was governor of the place, received his noble visitor with every mark of attention. The count, however, no sooner beheld Sophia than he became deeply enamoured of her ; and on learning the equivocal situation in which she stood, being neither a slave nor a mistress, but, as it were, a piece of merchandise purchased for 1500 piastres, he wound up his declaration of love by an offer of marriage. The count was a handsome man, scarcely thirty years of age, a lieutenant-general in the Russian service, and enjoying the high favour of his sovereign, Catherine II. The fair Greek, as may well be imagined, did not reject this favour of fortune, but accepted the offer of her suitor without hesitation.

It was easy to foresee that the Marquis de Vauban would not be very willing to part with a prize which he regarded as lawfully acquired, and



to which he attached no small value. The count therefore found it advisable to resort to stratagem. Accordingly, his excellency having one day taken a ride beyond the ramparts, the draw-bridges were raised, and the lovers repaired to church, where their hands were joined by a *papa*.\* When the marquis appeared at the gates of the fortress and demanded admittance, a messenger was sent out to inform him of what had happened; and, to complete the *dénouement* of the comedy, the marriage contract was exhibited to him in due form.

To save Sophia from the reproaches which her precipitancy, it may perhaps be said her ingratitude, would have fully justified, the count directed the ambassador's suite to pack up their baggage, and join his excellency *extra muros*. The poor marquis soon discovered that it was quite useless to stay where he was for the purpose of venting threats and complaints; and he had no hope that the court of France would think it worth while to go to war for the sake of avenging his affront. He therefore prudently took a hint from one of the French poets, who says:—

Le bruit est pour le fat, la plainte pour le sot,  
L'honnête homme trompé, s'éloigne, et ne dit mot;

and he set off, doubtless with the secret determi-

\* A Greek priest.



nation never again to traffic in merchandise which possesses no value when it can be either bought or sold.

About two years after his marriage the Count de Witt obtained leave of absence, and, accompanied by his wife, he visited the different courts of Europe. Sophia's beauty, which derived piquancy from a certain oriental languishment of manner, was every where the theme of admiration. The Prince de Ligne, who saw her at the court of France, mentions her in his Memoirs in terms of eulogy which I cannot think exaggerated; for when I knew her at Toulchin her charms retained all their lustre, and she outshone the young beauties of the court, amidst whom she appeared like Calypso surrounded by her nymphs.

The second period of Sophia's life forms a sequel perfectly in unison with the commencement. Count Felix Potocki, at the beginning of the troubles in Poland, raised a considerable party by the influence of his rank and vast fortune. During a temporary absence from the court of Poland he made a tour through Italy, and on his return he met the Count and Countess de Witt at Hamburg, when he fell deeply in love with Sophia.

Nothing is so easy as to obtain a divorce in Poland. The law extends so far on this point that I knew a gentleman who had no less than



four wives, all living and bearing his name. The motives of parties suing for a divorce are never inquired into, nor is the act itself considered as implying improper conduct on either side. The love of diversity is in most cases the cause of the wished for separation. Count Potocki therefore availing himself of the advantage afforded by the Polish law of divorce, and having previously made every necessary arrangement, one morning called on Count de Witt, and without further ceremony said : “ Count, I love your wife, and I cannot live without her. I know that I am not indifferent to her, and I might immediately carry her off ; but I wish to owe my happiness to you, and to retain for ever a grateful sense of your generosity. Here are two papers : one is an act of divorce, which only wants your signature, for you see the countess has already affixed hers to it ; the other is a bond for two millions of florins, payable at my banker’s in this city. We may therefore settle the business amicably or otherwise, just as you please ! ” The husband doubtless thought of his adventure at the fortress of Kaminieck, and, like the French ambassador, he resigned himself to his fate and signed the paper. The fair Sophia became that same day Countess Potocka ; and to the charms of beauty and talent were now added



the attractions of a fortune, the amount of which was unequalled in Europe.

She was received at court as a matter of course, and, through her amiable manners and rank, soon became the leader of the *ton* among the Polish nobility. At his death the Count Potocki made her the sole and absolute disposer of the whole of his immense property.\* She had a son by the Count de Witt, the same of whom mention has been made in the third chapter, and several children by the Count Potocki, who were all very young at the time of their father's death. When I became acquainted with this interesting family the eldest was not more than eighteen years of age. The countess had bestowed the greatest care on the education of her children. Although herself originally brought up in a manner which would not have qualified her for the superintendence of the education of others, her mind had subsequently been cultivated under the guidance

\* At the period of his death the extent of the count's property was estimated at 165,000 of available individuals, besides petty nobles, Jews, and women, who altogether amounted to twice that number. With such a vast population, who might be called his subjects, and with a revenue of nine millions of florins (700,000*l.* sterling), Count Potocki not only enjoyed regal honors on his estates, but nearly exercised sovereign powers in the administration of them.



and tuition of her first friend, the ambassador, who taught her to read and write many languages correctly, and laid the foundation of acquirements not commonly possessed even by the best educated ladies in Poland.

After the death of her first husband the Countess Potocka took charge of the son she had had by him, and brought him up with her other children.

The family mansion of the Potockis at Toulchin, commonly called the palace of Toulchin, is one of the most splendid edifices in Europe. It is built in the most elegant style of modern architecture, and is furnished in a manner suitable to its external magnificence. Over its portico is written in large gold letters the following sentiment in the Polish language :

May it ever be the abode of virtue and freedom !

The wish therein expressed is no doubt praiseworthy ; but its application would have been more suitable to the house of Socrates than to a palace in Poland.

Having been formerly known to the Countess Potocka at St. Petersburg, where she had given me a pressing invitation to visit her at Toulchin, I hastened, on my arrival there, to pay my respects to her. My companion was a still older



acquaintance of hers than myself, and we proceeded together to the palace. We met with the most friendly reception from the countess, who rebuked us for not having gone straight to her house to take up our abode there during the stay we might feel disposed to make in Toulchin. She gave orders immediately for our carriages, servants, and baggage to be brought from the place at which we had left them, not suffering us even to go and fetch them ourselves.

As the Countess Potocka made this her chief place of residence, Toulchin might have been called the El Dorado of Poland. The time we spent there, though only limited to a few weeks, forms one of the most agreeable periods of my existence. Besides the members of the family, consisting of the countess, her eight sons and daughters, and her daughter-in-law, the young and amiable Countess De Witt, a great number of ladies were attached to the household, either as relatives, or *dames de compagnie*. There were also two foreigners of considerable merit retained as instructors to the sons of the countess; one was the Abbé de Chalenton, a French emigrant priest, who had been preceptor to the Counts Armand and Jules de Polignac; the other was Mr. Allen, the English historical painter, who was commissioned by the countess to execute for her a variety of



pictures, destined for the gallery of the palace, besides teaching the art of drawing to her children. A suite of apartments and two attendants were assigned to each guest and each inmate, and it was the established rule that every one should consider himself at home, asking for all he wanted, keeping any hours most convenient to him, disposing of his time as he pleased, and not even appearing at the public dinner table, if it best suited him to dine in his own apartments. This, however, was only done in cases of indisposition, and the countess's dinner table was always attended by all the family and visitors. Indeed the charms of conversation were never more attractive than during the sumptuous banquets which constituted the ordinary fare at the palace of Toulchin, and no one would willingly have forgone their enjoyment. The interval between coffee and tea was usually spent in walking in the extensive gardens, or riding out either in open carriages or on horseback. After tea, music, cards, and conversation went on among the senior portion of the society, and *des petit jeux* among the juniors, who not unfrequently tempted even the gravest among us to join them in their juvenile sports. I recollect one evening the game of blindman's buff becoming so universal, that

gentles to almost every part of the globe. It was



among the numerous persons present, none but the countess had abstained from taking an active part.

One of the most remarkable features of a protracted residence in the palace of Toulchin was the frequent and almost uninterrupted appearance there of persons of eminence and celebrity in Russia and in Poland, as well as of travellers of distinction from various parts of the world. None came within thirty or forty wersts of Toulchin without deviating from their regular course in order to pay their personal respects to the countess; and parties of her friends and acquaintance came all the way from St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, and other distant parts, for the express purpose of visiting her. There was therefore a constant succession of arrivals and departures, which, far from giving that annoyance of which one would suppose so much bustle to be productive, appeared to form a source of incessant gratification to the amiable hostess. With her, in fact, it was as if she resided in one of the capitals of the empire. Her acquaintances were almost as frequently under her roof as if they only resided a street or two from her residence. Here, however, she was enabled to receive them without that restraint more or less imposed by the



regulations of social intercourse in great capitals, and their visits thereby became far more agreeable.

To convey an idea of the manner in which time was disposed of in the palace of Toulchin, I will give some account of the manner I spent mine during the whole month of July that I participated in its friendly hospitalities. I got up between seven and eight in the morning, and proceeded to bathe, sometimes in an artificial river which has been made to run through the garden, and at other times in one of the Turkish baths, of which several are always ready for immediate use. I breakfasted at ten in my own *salon*, read, wrote, or rode out between that time and one o'clock, at which hour I always proceeded to the countess's private sitting-room to pay my respects to her. After remaining with her about an hour, passed in the most agreeable conversation, I proceeded to the apartments of others, either inmates or visitors like myself, with whom I generally stayed till three, when the dinner-bell summoned us all to the banqueting hall, where a table with fifty covers was always prepared. This dining-room was laid out in a manner which answered the purpose of a museum of works of sculpture, and a conservatory of odoriferous plants indigenous to almost every part of the globe. It was



a kind of temple dedicated to art, to nature, and to Bacchus. The dinner generally lasted an hour and a half. On getting up from table we proceeded to an extensive *orangerie*, to which three glass folding-doors opened, where coffee and ices were served. Here the arrangements for the evening promenade were discussed and settled, after which the ladies retired to their chambers to prepare themselves for going out, leaving the gentlemen to spend the interval in conversation or chess-playing. At six a sufficient number of open carriages and saddle-horses were ready, and we rode out till half past seven. At eight we all took tea in one of the suite of drawing-rooms, where we remained till eleven, at which hour supper was announced. Most of the company retired at half past twelve, and at one in the morning I went to bed.

In this abode of pleasure I was frequently reminded of the requisites which Epicurus makes happiness consist of—body without pain, and mind without anxiety. I was not, however, so wholly taken up with the amusements afforded by the interior of the palace as to be unmindful of matters equally worthy a traveller's notice on the outside of it. The scenery round Toulchin is varied and picturesque. Indeed I have seen no part of the vast province of Ukrania, in which it is situated, which



was otherwise than interesting. Its fertility is so great, that it might be denominated the granary of Poland. Its name is derived from the Slavonic word *kray*, which means a frontier. The Dnieper, from Kioff to the cataracts, divides the Polish from the Russian Ukraina. The peasantry here are in a more flourishing condition than in Little Russia. This is owing to their industry as much as to the greater productiveness of the soil. Their houses are well built and commodious, and generally surrounded by gardens and orchards, the trees of which produce excellent fruit. Their cattle are among the finest in Europe. Their corn fields are sometimes exposed to the voracity of locusts, which come in swarms, and in the course of a few hours completely destroy every thing they alight upon ; but when they give indications of their approach large fires of dried dung are lighted near the corn fields, the smoke of which not only prevents their approach, but also suffocates them if they happen to come within its reach.

The Ukrainian peasants are remarkably expert in the use of the axe. Not only they employ it in the construction of their houses, their boats, their carriages, and their household furniture, but also in carving a variety of small things, such as little



boxes, spoons, and other kitchen utensils. I purchased a very handsome snuff-box from one of them, which had been cut with a hatchet commonly used for felling timber. In the province of Masovia they are still better exercised in the art of rendering the axe universally available. I have been assured by several persons whose testimony I could not doubt that they have themselves seen peasants, who wore their hair long, go and place themselves against the trunks of trees, raising their hair as much above their heads as it would reach, while others would take aim at a certain distance, and fling their hatchets with so much dexterity as to cut the hair in two parts, and be driven deep into the trunk of the tree ! Similar feats beat William Tell's hollow. They are not, however, the only kind by which dexterity was practised in Poland at the risk of a tragic end. In former times it was customary in the *châteaux* of the nobility, after banquets given on great occasions, for the host to show his guests his skill in firing a pistol, by making the heel of the shoe on his wife's foot his target ! I could hardly convince myself that the higher classes among the Poles, who have always considered devotedness to the fair sex the glory of ours, should have suffered a practice so directly at variance with every feeling

province of Ukraina, in which it is situated, which



of common humanity to prevail among them—those men, whose notions of gallantry in the present day are apt to carry them to so extravagant enthusiasm, that I have seen them at table take the shoe off the foot of the mistress of the house, drink wine out of it, and pass it round !

Not very far from Toulchin is situated the town of Berdicheff, in which a considerable fair is annually held in the month of July. I had heard so much of the beauty of the horses which are exposed there on sale on that occasion, as well as of other objects of attraction worthy a traveller's notice, that I could hardly let so favourable an opportunity escape of gratifying the curiosity excited by the accounts given on the subject. My absence from Toulchin at that moment, however, was likely to deprive me of the pleasure of seeing the beautiful Madame Narischkin, who was daily expected at the palace, where she intended staying two or three days, and thence proceed on an excursion to the Crimea. The celebrity of Madame Narischkin was, no doubt, as great as that of the fair of Berdicheff could possibly be ; but that lady was not unknown to me, as I had been frequently in her company at St. Petersburg : there was a probability also that I should meet her in the Crimea ; whereas in regard to the fair in question,



which I had never seen, it was not probable that I should ever have another opportunity of gratifying my curiosity. I therefore made up my mind to give up the *fair* of St. Petersburg for the *fair* of Berdicheff.



## CHAPTER VI.

Berdicheff—Fair held there every year—An account of it—Murder of Count Kamensky during our stay at Berdicheff—Punishment to which his murderers were destined—Stay at Maknouffa—The Countess Dziekonska and her family—Her two dwarfs—Uncommon accomplishments of the female one—Return to Toulchin—Madame Narischkin—Howard the philanthropist's tomb—The Duke de Polignac—Anecdote relating to him and Count Potocki—Humann—Some account of the celebrated garden of Sophioffka.

THE town of Berdicheff is the property of one of the Princes Radzivil. It is by no means a fine town, though I do not know why it passes for being so in other parts of Poland. It has more the appearance of an ill-built village, than a place in which so much important traffic is carried on every year. Its streets are not paved, so that in winter the mud comes up to one's knees, and in summer the dust is intolerable.



I found an immense number of beautiful horses and goods exposed for sale, which had been brought there from all parts of the world. All the nobility of the neighbourhood, besides a great number from distant parts of the country, had flocked thither as usual in search of business or pleasure. The magnificence of the equipages, and the elegance of the ladies' dresses, formed a curious contrast with the miserable appearance of the place. An immense number of Jews had likewise assembled for the purpose of trading in their own way. This assemblage of Israelites was by no means calculated to add to the gaiety of the scene. There are in this town about one hundred wretched hovels, miscalled inns, kept by Jews. It is in these filthy places that princesses and other women of rank and beauty come and rest their elegant forms on straw beds, in which all kinds of disgusting vermin abound.

There is a theatre in which representations, during the period of the fair, are given in the Polish language; but it is altogether a miserable concern. At a kind of ridotto public balls are given, as well as concerts. The latter are always better attended than the former, and, from what I saw, deserve the preference. But no public amusements of any kind are provided for the people. They spend therefore their evenings at the



brandy shops, where they get drunk with some detestable liquor manufactured by the Jew *traiteurs* in imitation of brandy ; so that their day's earnings are sure, in the end, to find their way to the pockets of the Jews.

During my stay at Berdicheff an event occurred at a village called Ivankoff, in its neighbourhood, which created a strong and general sensation. Ivankoff was the property of the venerable Count Kamensky, father of the general of that name who commanded in chief the Russian army in Moldavia and Wallachia. The count had sent two of his peasants, from an early age, to study music at Leipsic and other parts of northern Germany. After several years' residence there, having rendered themselves complete masters of the instruments selected for their study, they returned to Ivankoff. The life of servitude they were made to resume there ill accorded with the notions of freedom they had formed, the habits they had acquired, and the superior station to which talent equal to theirs entitles its possessors in every civilised country. Their discontent was at last wrought to fury by an order given by the count, owing to some offence he had taken at their conduct, that they should undergo a flogging. This chastisement was publicly inflicted on them in the presence of the whole household. It was be-



yond their endurance, and on the following night, providing themselves with hatchets, they penetrated into the count's bedroom, whom they roused from sleep, and after reproaching him—for his cruelty in having taken them out of the sphere to which they had been originally destined, enabled them to appreciate the value of freedom and the dignity of man, and then again placed them in a state of slavery a thousand times more disgraceful than formerly, inasmuch as their actual condition placed them above the rank of slaves,—they fell upon the old man with the instruments of death, and cut him up in a hundred pieces. Far from flying from the pursuit of justice, they instantly proceeded to Zetomir, the principal town of the province of Volhynia, in which Ivankoff is situated, presented themselves before the magistrates, and made a full confession of what they had done. They were, of course, immediately thrown into prison, and I was informed that the punishment reserved for their crime would be three hundred lashes of the knoot to each ; and if they did not sink under them, they would be afterwards sent to the mines in Siberia. The punishment of death has been abolished since the reign of the Empress Elizabeth.

This event became, of course, the general subject of conversation among the higher classes of



society at that moment in Berdicheff, to whom the count was personally known. The owners of peasants perceived, through it, the danger of suffering their slaves to become enlightened without being emancipated, or of being emancipated without being enlightened. Slavery is doubtless a monstrous abuse, which philanthropy must deplore; but its reform in the Russian dominions ought to be, as there is every appearance that it will be, a gradual process.

Having gratified my curiosity at Berdicheff, I set out on my return, taking the way of Maknouffa, for the purpose of paying my respects to the Countess Dziekonska, a friend of Madame Potocka, whose acquaintance I had formed in the early part of my stay at Toulchin, and from whom I had received a polite invitation to pay her a visit at her *château* in the neighbourhood of Maknouffa.

I spent a couple of days with the Countess Dziekonska. She was a widow, having a numerous family of young children to look after, and to whose education she seemed to attend with the most anxious care. Her daughters were under the tuition of an English and a French governess. Her sons were brought up for the army, as almost all the Poles of the higher classes are, and who all seem as though they had come booted and spurred into the world. The Countess Dziekonska



was among the few of the Polish nobility who still kept up the custom of barbarous ages, of entertaining dwarfs for the family's amusement. She had two of these diminutive beings in the human form, who were the smallest I had ever seen. They were each of a different sex. Mademoiselle Zélie, the female dwarf, might have vied in littleness with the celebrated Bébé, who had been once concealed in a large pie served at the table of the King of Poland. She was only two feet six inches in height, but extremely well proportioned. Her education had been taken great care of. She spoke several languages, performed on various instruments, and danced very gracefully. Her age was twenty-three, and did not appear to be more than six. The male dwarf was very ugly, very dirty, a great *gourmand*, with an enormous head; but he was very witty and amusing. When the pretty Zélie was told that this little monster was intended as her husband, she began crying, and sometimes went into hysterics. Her aversion for him was of the most decided kind.

When I arrived once more at the palace of Toulchin Madame Narischkin had left it; for some days after, however, she was the universal theme of conversation. Madame Narischkin was the wife of the grand-chamberlain of Russia, who was distantly related to the Emperor Alexander.



Though allied to the imperial family, connected with the most distinguished families in the empire, and on a footing of the most familiar intimacy at court, Mr. Narischkin had never *condescended* to accept a title. Amidst the multitudes of princes, dukes, and counts, by whom he was incessantly surrounded, it seemed to him that the want of a title was the only circumstance by which that pre-eminent distinction to which he conceived himself entitled could be maintained. His wife was the daughter of Prince Chetwer-tinsky. Her beauty, her affable manners, and the goodness of her heart, had all combined in making her the model of perfection in her sex. Perhaps she might not, with equal truth, be called the pattern of female virtue. Report had long ascribed to her an intimacy more than platonic with the Emperor Alexander. Of this I may speak without much hesitation, inasmuch as the lady has never made any kind of mystery of her daily meetings with the autocrat, and of the ascendancy she had acquired over his mind. It is even asserted that long after she had ceased to be the entire mistress of his heart the most friendly intimacy continued to subsist between them.

An incident occurred to me on the morning after my return to Toulchin which might be referred to as illustrating the extreme contempt





with which money matters are frequently treated in the houses of the nobility in Poland. I say the nobility, because the whole wealth of the country is confined to that class ; and whenever it happens to be acquired elsewhere its possessor is soon admitted to a participation of aristocratic privileges. While I was traversing the great court of the palace a peasant came up to me and complained that for three days he had been endeavouring to prevail upon some one to take charge for the countess of a bag he was holding in his hand, containing 1500 gold ducats, without being able to succeed. I took the money and carried it to the countess, who seemed much amused with the account I gave her of the man's fears lest he should never have got rid of his burden, and his apparent thankfulness in meeting with some one at last who was willing to relieve him of it.

On that same day there was a young man at dinner, seated at the lower extremity of the table, of whom no one took the least notice, and who hardly ventured to raise his eyes on his neighbours. I inquired of the countess who this seemingly modest person was : she informed me he was the son of a former agent of her husband's estates ; adding, " I cannot help admitting such people occasionally at my table, as I do not wish



it to be said that pride is among the defects of my nature." Count Winitzi, who had heard my question and the answer given to it, added that the stranger in question was about to proceed on his travels abroad for the completion of his education, and that his father had made him an allowance of 150,000 florins a-year for his travelling expenses. "In that case," I observed to the countess, "if it be through a spirit of humility that you admit such poor devils at your table, I suppose those who are deemed fully worthy of that honour are entitled to dishes of melted gold."

In the evening all the company repaired to the house of the Jewish rabbi Elkana, to assist at the nuptial ceremony of his son, and partake of the festivities given on the occasion. The religious part of the ceremony was exactly the same as it is among the Jews of other countries. At supper all the rabbis sat round an immense table in their imposing and picturesque costume; they looked like the patriarchs of old. Dancing commenced after the repast, and almost exclusively consisted of the Jewish national dance, which is monotonous and uninteresting. Occasionally we were treated with a *pas seul* by an Israelite clown, a personage whose presence is an indispensable appendage of the nuptial festivities



observed among the Polish Jews. His grotesque attitudes and disgusting contortions seemed to excite much merriment among the spectators of his tribe, while the younger portion of our own company were frequently tempted to run away from the exhibition. If the nuptial dance in Rome was similar to this, no wonder that the senate should have considered its nature so indecent, and its tendency so immoral, as to award the punishment of perpetual exile to those who should presume to teach it.

Among the curiosities of the neighbourhood of Toulchin which appeared most deserving the notice of a traveller, was the tomb of Howard, the celebrated philanthropist, who had visited almost all the prisons of Europe with the view of ameliorating their condition: his remains are deposited in an artificial island, under a mausoleum made in exact imitation of that of J. J. Rousseau at Ermenonville. Between these two celebrated individuals there is this difference, that the one has written a great deal with a view to the good of mankind, whereas the other has done a great deal towards the same object. We may admire the theorist, and occasionally take his counsel, but we are bound in gratitude to the promoter of practical good.



Another spot which also attracted my attention was a village long inhabited by the Duke de Polignac and his family during their emigration. With a liberality which has met with some imitators in Poland, Count Potocki had not only given up to the family the use of a fine house he possessed in that village, but also assigned the whole amount of annual rent payable by the villagers to the expatriated family for the period of their exile. The Abbé de Chalenton, who, as I have said before, had long been a member of the duke's household as tutor to his two sons, had resided with them here, and, on their departure, was induced to yield to the pressing solicitations of the Count Potocki that he would establish himself in the palace and undertake the education of his sons. I hold from him the following anecdote :

In the early part of the French revolution, when a great number of the old aristocracy thought proper to quit their native country, all the members of the Polignac family voluntarily emigrated. The hope, however, that their absence would be but temporary, and that things would soon resume their former order in France, induced the Polignacs to keep up that state in the course of their travels through foreign lands which they conceived to be suitable to their rank.



The Count Potocki was, about the same time, travelling in Italy under an assumed name, attended only by one servant; a mode of travelling he had preferred as best suited to his taste, and to his view of making himself thoroughly acquainted with men and things. At Venice he took up his abode at the hotel called *L'Ecu de France*. Two days after the Polignacs arrived in that city, and were conducted to the same inn, where the doge gave directions that all the best apartments should be immediately given up to them. The surprise of the palatine may be imagined, on his being required to quit his apartment because of its being wanted for persons of great distinction. "But," said the count, "I really do not feel disposed to be dislodged on any one's account."—"Indeed you must," replied the host, "for these are persons of consequence, being noblemen, and the doge has given orders that I should give them my best rooms; so, sir, be pleased to remove immediately, for the Duke de Polignac and his suite have sat down below to eat for their breakfast the dinner I had prepared for you, and will come to this very room as soon as they have done." Rather than quit his favourite incognito, by persisting in retaining possession of his rooms, the palatine consented to remove to



two smaller ones in an upper story. When, some years after, the voluntary expatriation of the Polignacs became a compulsory one, they came to Ukania to request hospitality of the same Count Potocki whom they had caused to be turned out of his lodging at Venice. The fear of humiliating them induced the count never to mention that fact to any of the exiled family. The Abbé de Chalenton alone accidentally became acquainted with it, and it was only after the count's death that he made it known.

Among the numerous victims of the French revolution, who had sought an asylum in Ukania, was the Colonel Grunstein, formerly equerry to the unfortunate Duke d'Enghien. The Countess Potocka had confided to him the superintendence of her extensive *haras*, which are situated at no great distance from Toulchin. I spent a couple of days with the colonel, who directed my attention particularly to the variety of breeds with which the *haras* abounded. Arabian, Turkish, English, Spanish, French, and Russian breeds, were carefully preserved distinct from each other. There was a stallion, presented to the countess by Lord Douglas, which appeared to me the finest horse I had ever seen.

Of all the wonders raised in these vast domains



by the active genius of its late proprietor, none is more calculated to excite the surprise of the beholder than the magic garden of Sophioffka, situated near the romantic village of Humann, in the midst of scenery formed by nature's most happy mood. This garden was destined by the count to serve as a monument of his attachment and affection for the beautiful Sophia, whose name was therefore given to perpetuate the memory of it among his posterity. A vast extent of ground had been chosen for that purpose, and during ten years that the works were incessantly continued immense sums of money were expended on the undertaking, and a prodigious number of peasants were constantly employed. The plan of this garden was conceived by Mr. Metzel, formerly a captain of Polish engineers, who directed its execution with the most assiduous attention. Previous to the commencement of his undertaking Mr. Metzel had travelled to Prussia, Silesia, and Saxony, for the purpose of witnessing the operation of machinery of which he had only read the description and calculated the probable effects. Their models he afterwards rendered subservient to the works at Sophioffka, and with such improvements, that rocks which previously seemed as if no earthly power or ingenuity could ever be



capable of shaking, were completely removed from their bases. The perseverance of the count, the inventive resources of Metzel's genius, and the immense means placed at his command by the large sums of money he had the disposal of, finally produced that magic work which now goes under the name of the garden of Sophioffka.

The approach to this place is announced by an obelisk of sixty feet in height, cut out of a single piece of granite, on which are engraved in large Greek characters, *Eros toi Sophia* (Love to Sophia). An immense sheet of water comes next, on the borders of which an uninterrupted avenue of willow trees has been planted. Not far from this spot the river Kamionska has been made to precipitate itself from a prodigious height, on a mass of rocks, from whence it rebounds in foam to continue its course: it is a torrent which falls, and one which rises—an admirable specimen of the opposite movements. The river is crossed further down over an iron bridge of admirable workmanship, which leads to a space surrounded by several grottoes cut into immense rocks, which seem as if suspended in the air, and so disposed as to show the grand cascade in a thousand different points of view. A path cut in the rock leads to an elevation which overhangs the sheet of



water, and is intended as an imitation of the Leucadian rock immortalised by so many of the victims of love. A temple formed of trunks of trees, not deprived of their external covering, represents the early monuments which human piety consecrated to Divinity. From hence a sloping path leads into a deep cavern, whence an abundant spring sends forth its frothy waters. This grotto is dedicated to happiness, as words to that effect in the Polish language announce. Next is a sort of an amphitheatre, surrounded by a double row of Italian poplars: it has several circular rows of seats, similarly to the places which in Greece were dedicated to the discussions of the learned. It has been called here the Athenian school. An avenue of acacias leads to a marble pillar, the base of which is bathed by a stream. This solitude, consecrated to painful recollections, contains the tomb of three of the countess's children, snatched from her at an early age. Following the course of the stream, one is led to an Egyptian temple, which is in every sense enveloped in a sheet of water: it is only through an under-ground passage that it is accessible. During the hottest days of summer, the freshness of this place relieves one from the effects of the sun's burning rays. Not far off is situated an extensive aviary, containing birds from almost



every part of the globe. Proceeding on the ascent of a gentle hill, shaded by tall and splendid trees, whose origin appears to date from old, you enter on its summit an avenue which leads to a lake, where a boat in imitation of a Genoese gondola is to be found. Four oars-men take you rapidly across the lake into a subterraneous channel, where for twenty minutes you proceed in almost utter darkness under masses of immense rocks. At the other extremity of this dark passage you enter another lake, the limits of which are hardly visible to the naked eye. A yacht, whose gilt masts and silk cordages are meant to give it a resemblance to the vessel in which the Egyptian queen proceeded on her voyage to Tarsus, takes you up, sails in various directions, and finally lands you in an island, where, amidst trees and flowers, are one day to rest the remains of Trembetzky, author of the Polish poem of Sophioffka, written in celebration of this place and the woman whose name it bears. At another end of the lake you are set down in a vast garden, where the fruits of the whole world have been made to grow in immense abundance, and in all the perfection acquired in their native soil.

To this imperfect sketch, which I shall not prolong, because of my conscious inability to do any thing like justice to the subject, I shall merely



add that a great number and variety of statues and other works of sculpture, of different and picturesque views, and of waterworks, are interspersed and reproduced in these extensive grounds. Imagination can never form a conception of the reality, and human ingenuity will never go further in any attempts to produce the imitation of an earthly paradise.



## CHAPTER VII.

## Some account of the Zaparog Cossacks.

PLINY the elder has very judiciously observed that there is hardly a book which does not afford matter more or less useful. I might say the same with regard to travels. There are few places, however unimportant they may seem, with which one or more historical facts may not be connected. An instance of this is afforded by the village of Humann, which, without the neighbourhood of Sophioffka, would have appeared an obscure and insignificant spot, unworthy of any one's notice besides that of its humble inhabitants.

Humann was formerly a town of some magnitude, which had frequent occasion to defend itself against the attacks of the Zaparog Cossacks. At one time it sustained a long siege against ten



thousand of them, who finally took the place, put eight thousand of its inhabitants to the sword, set on fire the best houses, and reduced every thing almost to a heap of ruins. A few words on the history of this race, who now form so important a part of the population of the Russian empire, may not be deemed out of place.

The space of country inhabited by the Zaparog Cossacks was along the banks of the Dnieper (Boristhenes), where that river is obstructed by rocks, called in Russian *parog*, or cataracts. *Za* is the word for "beyond;" so that the two joined together form the phrase "beyond the cataracts," which has since become the denomination of the people inhabiting the southern banks of the Dnieper. The country occupied by this people extended to the Bog (Hypanis), and had no fixed limits; they have therefore received four different classifications; viz. the Tartars of Oczakoff in the west, the Polish Cossacks in the north, the Little Russians in the east, and the Crimean Tartars in the south.

Originally women were rigidly excluded from their republic, notwithstanding which their number increased instead of diminishing. Unmindful about their means of subsistence, not having any domestic cares to trouble them, Ukrania and other adjacent provinces were constantly exposed to their



brigandage : cattle, corn, and in fact all the productions of those provinces became almost invariably their prey. Frequently they would set fire to villages, in order to drive the women out of the recesses of their habitations, and satiate their brutal passions by force. All the male children under the age of twelve, who fell into their hands, were brought up to their roving and desperate habits, and their numbers were frequently increased by young peasants who felt an inclination for a life of so much independence and so little care. Criminals who were certain of finding among the Zaporog Cossacks impunity for their crimes also frequently joined them. Outcasts and adventurers from every part of Europe likewise came and associated themselves with this commonwealth of freebooters. Whenever a foreigner was admitted a member of the commonwealth he was compelled to relinquish his own name, his former habits, and his religion, and to adopt the usages and customs of the Zaporogs. A long novitiate was to be submitted to preparatory to being received, in order that the requisite qualities of firmness and courage might be fully acquired.

They lived under temporary tents, made of a light matting, which they could carry about with them in their excursions to the Liman of the Dnieper, and to the entrance of the Black Sea. They attached the highest value to the breed of



horses; a cross breed of Turkish and Polish was that which they preferred, principally because of less trouble being required in bringing up horses of that kind than of any other.

The number of the Zaparog Cossacks was never fixed; thirty or forty thousand of them were exclusively devoted to arms, and frequently took service under foreign states. Those who were rich in cattle of various kinds, and had become tired of the excursive life, remained on the lands they had acquired, and cultivated them through the aid of young Ukranian peasants, who aspired to the honour of being received as members of the Zaparog republic.

Besides these, there were forty *bourgades*, each consisting of one thousand *kirinni*, or subterraneous habitations, large enough to contain only one individual, where the active members of the republic repaired for rest after the fatigues of a marauding campaign. The only article of furniture used in the *kirinni* was a bear-skin, stretched on the ground, which served the purposes of a sofa and bed. In the centre of the thousand *kirinni* was one larger than the others, inhabited by the leader of the *bourgade*, who was himself subordinate to the chief of the republic, called the hetman. It is remarkable that among a tribe composed of marauders, highway robbers, and assassins, the most perfect harmony and good un-



derstanding prevailed. Every member was required on his admission to select a brother-at-arms, and to take oath that he would defend him against every peril:—there has never been an instance of any violation of this engagement. They were obedient and devoted to the chief whom they had chosen, and in their manner of living they were sober, vigilant, and hospitable. The last-mentioned quality was even considered by them a sacred duty, which they exercised towards every stranger who happened to come and claim their protection.

The Zaparogs had no written laws to be governed by; usage was their only code, and common sense its only guidance. But he who deviated from the established custom was punished with extreme severity. Murder was punished by a horrid death,—he who was guilty of it being buried alive alongside of his victim. Robbery committed within the limits of the republic was punished by a condemnation to three days' exposition in a kind of pillory, over which were suspended a bottle of brandy and a knout. Every member of the culprit's bourgade came and drank with him out of the bottle, and then struck him severely with the knout.

The hetman was chosen from among the most valorous Cossacks, and was elected by a majority



of votes. His attributes were those of a sovereign, and a military leader. He was also called *koche-voi-attaman*, or chief of the camp. It was necessary, in order to be chosen for that office, to have acquired notoriety by a ferocious intrepidity, and by the commission of the most cruel and revolting deeds. And yet there have been many hetmans who have distinguished themselves in that station by their strict integrity and their general knowledge.

In the execution of his authority the hetman exercised an absolute will ; but it was not allowed him to deviate from those usages in the administration of justice among the republic which time and the consent of all had established as the fundamental laws.

After returning from their excursions the Cossacks were bound to take the whole of their booty to the hetman, who divided it equally among them, and even those who had not aided in its capture. Those who were convicted of an attempt secretly to appropriate any part of the booty were punished by exposition in the pillory, similarly with other kinds of thieves. The hetman was entitled to a tithe of all that was taken and brought before him.

The Zaparog Cossacks professed the Greek religion, and had among them a few priests, who, as in Russia, were called *papa*.



Their active life enabled them to excel in all kinds of bodily exercises. Their skill in horsemanship was unequalled : they broke in horses of the most vicious habits ; and whenever they undertook long expeditions they took two or three horses with them, which they rode alternately, so that their speed was so great that their appearance was always the first warning of their approach. Their days of rest were spent in horse-racing, hunting, wrestling, swimming, and every exercise which was calculated to accustom them to activity, inure them to hardships, and become useful in their mode of carrying on war. In their festivals, which were seldom closed without general inebriation, the dance since called the *Cossack dance* was frequently introduced. It calls for great agility and strength of limb ; and those who possessed those necessary qualifications displayed them in a manner which could only be equalled by the feats of Indian jugglers.

As they only served as auxiliary troops in the wars between the neighbouring powers, they always sided with the party which appeared the strongest, and was most disposed to allow full scope to their marauding propensities. Sometimes the allies of the Poles, at others of the Russians, and occasionally of the Turks, they never



failed, at the close of each war, to carry immense riches back to their own camp.

Their republic, in which a perfect equality existed, was a scourge to all its neighbours. They never fought in a line ; and it was their practice to fall upon the enemy unawares, or to harass him day and night. They charged with intrepidity, and after being dispersed they rallied and returned to the charge when it was supposed they were in flight. Their superior skill in managing their horses and using their arms enabled them to attack the enemy on a weak side, and frequently to draw advantage from a good position. Their long lances, which were little known among other troops, made them formidable pursuers in a flight, as they were sure either to kill or wound mortally those whom they touched with them.

These ferocious marauders formerly rendered some important services to the czars of Russia, and formed a useful barrier at the time that the southern provinces were little better than deserts. But so soon as it was determined to people the latter the Zaparog Cossacks could no longer maintain their independence. Unwilling to submit to the terms proposed to them in the year 1768, they were surrounded by a numerous Russian army, well provided with artillery. They defended themselves with desperate bravery and perseverance ;



but finally obliged to yield to numbers, many surrendered, and others fled to the shores of the Black Sea, the banks of the Danube, and even so far as Asia Minor. The extent of country formerly occupied by them has since been called Ekaterinoslav; a name which, from its meaning—*glory to Catherine*, was intended to perpetuate the memory of the reign under which its conquest was achieved.

Several years after the dispersion of the Zaporog Cossacks, while Prince Potemkin was conducting the siege of Oczacoff, he was informed that Sider Bialy, their late hetman, was residing in one of the islands of the Dnieper, living on the fish caught by his own labor, and determined never to quit the scenes of his former greatness and prosperity, which he still persisted in considering as the rightful property of the Zaporogs. The prince sent for the hetman, who appeared soon after, almost entirely covered with his white beard, from which he derived his surname of Bialy.

The late Nestor of the Cossacks was a cunning old man, who resolved to do his best for the re-establishment of his tribe. Finding the prince disposed to listen to him, he ingratiated himself into his good graces, and before the close of the campaign so far succeeded, that a regular corps of



militia was formed from among the remaining portion of the Zaparog Cossacks; to which, however, the name of Czarno-Morski (Black Sea) Cossacks was given in lieu of their former one. Many of them were admitted among the troops of the line, and some corps of light cavalry were formed of the most able horsemen. These regiments are armed in the same manner as were the Zaparog Cossacks; but they are better disciplined, and wear a uniform similarly to the Cossacks of the Don. In the year 1800 there were about ten thousand of these Cossacks in the service of the Russian government. Since the wars with France their number has been increased to twenty thousand.

Those of the Zaparog Cossacks who neither emigrated, nor were admitted into the Russian service, were allowed to settle in the space of country which extends from the Kuban to the frontiers of the Caucasus. They are extremely useful to the Russian government in the interminable wars waged against the warlike inhabitants of the Caucasus. Some, however, preferred spending their days on the lands to which they were used, and have exchanged their former roving habits for more sedentary and peaceable occupations. Joined by colonists from other parts of the empire, their country, which was formerly little better than a wilderness, soon underwent improvement, and it



is now flourishing under a numerous and industrious population, who are fast spreading over it the blessings of civilisation.

Such were the existence and the dispersion of the tribe of brigands who had acquired a great celebrity in the annals of Ukrania, and whose warlike and savage habits have rendered them truly remarkable in the annals of mankind. The peaceable acts of nations easily fall into forgetfulness by the progress of time; those of a criminal and a revolting kind are alone sure to withstand its obliterating tendency, and bloody deeds have most contributed in filling the page of history.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Toulchin—The *steps*—Arrival at Odessa—The origin of that place—Its modern importance as a commercial outlet—Its principal exports—Description of the town of Odessa—The Duke de Richelieu—His hospitality—Some account of the acquaintances I formed in his house.

THE Countess Potocka having been suddenly called to St. Petersburg on business which required her presence there, my friend Sergius determined to accompany her on her journey, and left me to prosecute mine alone.

Nothing remarkable occurs on the road from Toulchin to Odessa, as far as Balta, a small town situated on the borders of the *steps*, which extend from thence to the shores of the Black Sea.

The Russian word *step* has been adopted by German and other geographers, in the absence of one equally suited to the peculiar nature of the country to which it is applied. It designates a



long extent of flat country, destitute of trees and stones, the surface of which, though in some parts productive, is every where covered with a thick moss of a brownish hue. The *steps* differ from heaths in this respect only, that the soil of the latter is totally unproductive. According to Herodotus and Hippocrates, the tract of country of which they are composed was in the same condition from time immemorial. Hippocrates refers to them in his treatise on damp temperature.

The *steps* form a kind of zone, which extends from Japan to the Danube, through Tartary. They are a good deal exposed to strong opposite winds, which are detrimental to the growth of trees and even of corn, from their preventing the fall of rain at proper periods. In the neighbourhood of Astracan, which is situated in the heart of the *steps*, the inhabitants are obliged to water the earth in order to obtain the necessary supplies of corn and vegetables for their use. Without a constant application of this artificial means nothing would grow. The *steps* between the Dniester and the Danube being situated at the extremity of the zone, are not so much under the influence of deteriorating causes as elsewhere; the hand of industry generally succeeds there in overcoming the difficulties opposed by nature.

There is a species of snake in these deserts



which sometimes reaches the extraordinary length of twenty feet ; but it is not thick in proportion. I have been assured that peasants' huts are frequently deserted on account of the immense number of these reptiles fixing their abode in them.

It is impossible to form an idea of the dreary aspect of these immense dark plains, which offer nothing to relieve the eye. In going over them I felt excessively the power of the sun. It was only when my half-open *calèche* was in motion that the air it produced brought some relief. There are villages at long distances from each other, the appearance of which denotes prosperity among their inhabitants. That of Severinofka is the most remarkable, its houses being all neatly built with a species of white stone, and arranged with great regularity.

The country appeared capable of affording means of support to a population at least a thousand times greater than that which it bore at the time I went through it ; and yet it must be confessed that mankind ought to be greatly pressed for room in other parts of the world to choose these deserts for their fixed abode. The villagers live chiefly by rearing sheep, of which they have various kinds ; there is one breed held in greater estimation than the others, the tails of which become so large that the shepherds are obliged to



fix wheels to them in order to prevent their being dragged on the ground.

Towards the end of August I arrived at Odessa, a city whose fame as a commercial *débouché* has not been confined to the Russian empire alone, but is fast spreading throughout the trading world.

The most ancient writer who has spoken of Odessa is Arian, in his report relative to the shores of the Euxine, addressed to the Emperor Trajan. His words are as follows: "On the Boristhenes is the city called Olbia: at the mouth of that river there is a desert island, and at about thirty stades from the latter is the town of Odessus." The desert island in question is evidently that to which the name of Berezan has been given in later times. Odessus must have been situated on the banks of the Teligoul. Ptolemy calls it Ordessus, and says it was situated on the river Axiacus. The ancients have only known the Axiacus, which was between the rivers Thyras (Dniesner) and the Hypanis (Bog), at least they never called so any other river. It is therefore probable that they gave that name to the Teligoul, which is the most considerable in that part of the coast.

All circumstances considered, there is hardly any doubt but the space on which the modern



Odessa has been raised, if not exactly the one it occupied formerly, is only a few miles distant from it.

When the western coast of the Black Sea as far as the Dniester was wrested by the Russians from the hands of the Turks, Odessa was but a miserable bourgade, inhabited by Mahometan Tartars. Its situation suggested the plan of making a naval station of its port, and building a military arsenal there. This plan was conceived and executed by Admiral Ribas and General Volant in 1790. Its advantages as a commercial port became apparent soon after. The neighbourhood of the Bog and the Dniester afforded immense facilities of communication with the interior. From thence the transport of wheat over those two rivers was extremely easy and economical, and the port of Odessa was by far the most convenient part of the neighbouring coast for the shipment and exportation of that important article of Russian produce.

The town of Cherson had existed as a place of trade long before Odessa; but though conveniently situated in other respects, it was not so for the corn trade, and it began to decline soon after the rival port obtained the preference for shipments. The merchants of Cherson, who had been induced to settle there in consequence of the



encouragement held out to them by the Russian government, alarmed at the growing prosperity of Odessa, addressed remonstrances to the government against the protection newly extended to it : but so long as Catherine lived their representations were not attended to. After her death Odessa ceased to be a military station, and the Cherson merchants became so eager for its total annihilation that they addressed a petition to the new sovereign, to the effect that he would transmit orders not only for the discontinuance of the improvements commenced under the late reign, but also for the destruction of the pier in progress, the completion of which would have formed a very convenient harbour for the shipping. The emperor despatched commissioners to examine the state of things on the spot ; and their report was so favourable to Odessa, that he gave orders that the works should be continued. Under the reign of Paul, however, commerce was tolerated at Odessa, but by no means encouraged. It was reserved for his successor to raise it to that importance which it has since acquired.

The views of Alexander relative to Odessa were powerfully seconded by the Count Romanzoff, then his minister of commerce ; and subsequently still more so by the Duke de Richelieu, who was appointed governor of the province in which it was



situated. The duke had, since the commencement of the French revolution, repaired to Russia, and had been received in its military service with the rank of colonel. Having distinguished himself on various occasions under Souvaroff, he rose rapidly in rank. Alexander had conceived a great personal friendship for him, and this circumstance gave the duke facilities of access to the emperor which became extremely favourable to the prosperity of Odessa after he had been appointed its governor. He had till that period been only known as an able military man; but in his civil career he displayed so much capacity and zeal, that the emperor became anxiously desirous he should remain in a station in which he had it in his power to render important services to the empire. In fact, during a residence of nearly twenty years at Odessa the duke was unremitting in his exertions to promote the interests of that place; and now that it has nearly attained all the importance of which it was susceptible, those of its residents who have witnessed the administration of the Duke de Richelieu all agree in the opinion, that if it had been intrusted to a Russian its prosperity would have been greatly retarded.\*

\* It was with great reluctance that the Duke de Richelieu yielded to the pressing solicitations of his friends, that he should



On his first arrival at Odessa, the stranger can hardly imagine that such a city had no existence a few years before. At the period of my visit its population amounted altogether to about thirty-five thousand. Since the general peace it has increased rapidly, and at the present time (1824) it is reckoned at double that number. The original plan of the town required that the streets should be all in a straight line, and none less than one hundred feet in breadth. No houses could be built without being strictly subjected to the architectural regulations laid down by the government. The town has therefore become one of the finest in Russia. All its houses are built of a stone of a rather soft kind. The greater number were of two stories' height at the period of which I am speaking, but houses of three stories were then in the progress of building. The

accept the offer made to him of presiding over the ministry in France after the second restoration. He would not have quitted his government in the south of Russia had not Alexander himself urged him to that determination, on the grounds that under the existing state of feeling in France it was expedient that a man who, similarly to the duke, was connected with no party, should be selected to direct the councils of its government. The Duke de Richelieu died at Paris of the brain fever, in the month of May, 1822. He had then attained the fifty-third year of his age. Although married at a very early age, he had long lived separated from his wife, and he left no issue.



difficulty of procuring hard stones has hitherto prevented the wide streets of Odessa from being paved; so that in the wet seasons the mud in them is excessive, and during the summer the dust is an almost insufferable nuisance. But the foot-paths, which are every where divided by rows of trees, similarly to the boulevards in Paris, have been inlaid with large pebbles, so as to produce a hard surface similar to that of the Macadamised streets of London, but much less apt than the latter to create and retain mud.

There are several Russian and some Roman Catholic churches in Odessa, a public school, in which all branches of learning are taught, a seminary for young ladies, a hospital, a theatre, in which representations are alternately given in Russian, German, and Italian, and a very fine botanical garden, which is always open to the public, and much frequented during the fine months of the year. The harbour, since its completion, is capable of containing five hundred ships conveniently, and affords safe anchorage. In the streets you meet with Russians, Turks, Greeks, Jews, Poles, Armenians, Moldavians, English, French, Germans, and Italians, all in their native costumes, and speaking different languages. Indeed there is not perhaps another place in the world the inhabitants of which origi-



nally came from so many different parts of the world. Mr. Sicard, who has published a work on the rise, progress, and actual state of Odessa, has very aptly observed, "If one of the original inhabitants of Hagi Bey, or a Tartar, who twenty years before the foundation of the modern Odessa roamed in the deserts of Bessarabia, were now to see the magnificent town which has been raised on the space known to him as a desert but so short a time before, he would believe it to be the effect of enchantment."

For a long time after the establishment at Odessa of merchants from various parts of the world, the town was in a manner isolated, and its communications with other inhabited places were not as speedy as the necessities and comforts of the inhabitants required. The most essential necessities of life were indeed to be found in sufficient abundance; but fruit, vegetables, grass, and a variety of other similar productions, almost indispensably necessary among a large population, were either extremely scarce, or not to be had at all. In order to obviate this evil, Bulgarian, Wallachian, Hungarian, and German peasants were invited to come and settle in the neighbourhood of Odessa. Advances in money and gifts of cattle were made to them, and in a few years the country within twenty-five wersts of that place be-



came peopled, villages sprung up in all directions, and gardens, orchards, and well-cultivated fields now abound, supplying the town of Odessa with all its wants, and sending their superabundant productions to more distant markets.

Most of the opulent inhabitants of Odessa have acquired lands in the neighbourhood of the town, some of which have been converted into farms, and others into country-houses, pleasure-grounds, kitchen-gardens, and orchards. The quantity of fruit produced is prodigious. Plums in all their variety of kind, apples, pears, peaches, apricots, and melons, are in great abundance and perfection. Grapes reach sufficient maturity to be good for the table, but they are not fit for wine. This latter commodity is therefore supplied chiefly from Wallachia, Moldavia, Turkey, and Greece; and as its prime cost and the expense of transport are by no means considerable, and there is no custom-house duty on what is imported for local consumption, the price of wine at Odessa is sufficiently low to make it an article of daily use among all classes of its inhabitants.

Although wheat is the most important article of the commerce of Odessa, there are other productions of the empire which have of late years become considerable exports. The most material of these is tallow: all the ports of the Mediter-



ranee are supplied with that commodity from Odessa, and I have been assured that even many of the great tallow merchants in England and France now prefer receiving their supplies from Odessa to the route of St. Petersburg. The other exports are, various descriptions of corn, caviar, sail-cloths, cordage, hemp, flax, red leather, horse and ox-hides, furs in great variety, iron, nails, iron and glass-ware of Toula manufacture, gold-tinsel, manufactured in Moscow, wax, oil, hogs' bristles, and a variety of other articles of minor importance.

The finest country-houses in the neighbourhood of Odessa were those of the Duke de Richelieu, General Koble, (*commandant de la place*, an Englishman many years in the Russian service,) Mr. Cattley, and Mr. Raynaud, two merchants, the first an Englishman, and the other a Frenchman, who have both been early settlers, and have realised considerable fortunes in this place.

Besides the great inducements held out to mercantile men by the commercial facilities of Odessa to come and fix their abode in this part of the Russian empire, the Polish and Russian nobility residing nearer the shores of the Black Sea than those of the Baltic, soon began to repair thither in summer, owing to the convenience of the situation for sea-bathing. A great number of



them have become its regular frequenters in summer, and have therefore built houses of their own. When I arrived at Odessa there were at least one hundred and fifty families of Russian and Polish nobility residing there for the benefit of sea-bathing. The presence of these visitors adds greatly to the prosperity of the place, and forms a very agreeable society, so that the most brilliant season for balls, concerts, private parties, and theatricals, is the summer.

The theatre is a fine spacious building, capable of containing an audience as numerous as that of the theatre of Feydeau in Paris. It is open every evening, and is always crowded. There were three distinct companies performing there alternately, the most remarkable of which was the Italian company, who gave operas three times a week, Sundays included. Some of the singers would not have disgraced the boards of the best theatres in Italy. They were accompanied by their own separate orchestra, which was excellent. Ballets, pantomimes, melo-dramas, tragedies, and comedies, were also given in succession; but these seemed more intended for the diversion of the lower orders than for that of the "genteel society" of Odessa, who were only to be seen at the theatre on opera nights.

Soon after my arrival I waited on the Duke de



Richelieu, from whom I experienced the most friendly reception. On rising to take my leave, the duke told me his dinner-hour, which in Russia implies a general invitation to one's table. This intimation I very frequently availed myself of, as much owing to the pleasure I derived in the participation of the duke's hospitality, as because, if it happened that I had no particular invitation to dine elsewhere, I should have stood a good chance of getting no dinner at all, seeing that no such accommodation for strangers as that of a *restaurateur* or public eating-house of any kind was to be found in Odessa. Another great inconvenience for strangers was the want of inns and of lodging-houses of any description. Those who arrived there, if it were for a period ever so short, were under the necessity of hiring rooms or a whole house by the month, and providing the necessary articles of furniture, unless they were particularly recommended to any of the inhabitants, who chose, out of civility, to offer them a room in their houses.

At the dinner-table of the Duke de Richelieu I became acquainted, in the course of a very few days, with all the most respectable inhabitants of Odessa, including the Polish nobility who were there for the bathing season. No less than thirty or forty sat down to dinner every day in his



house, and as a great number of the guests were renewed every day, in the course of a week I knew them all. This afforded me the means of seeing a great deal of the society, which I found so extremely attractive, that I resolved to stay at least a couple of months at that place.

The evening soon became the most interesting part of my time. I spent it generally either at the theatre, or at the house of some family who were most in the habit of receiving society, and always closed it at the supper-table of the Duke de Richelieu, where a select party was always to be met, and from which all kinds of etiquette and formality were banished to make room for the most amiable conviviality, and the most sprightly and agreeable conversation. These delightful parties almost always consisted of Mr. and Madame Davidoff, who had lately arrived from Kioff, Count and Countess Rakmanoff, Prince Radzivil, and his young and beautiful niece, the Countess Juditzka, two young Englishmen, Mr. Gordon\* and Mr. Wilkinson,† with whom I soon

\* Mr. Gordon, a gentleman of great literary acquirements and possessing a considerable fortune, which he has since liberally devoted to the glorious cause of the emancipation of Greece. He has married a lady who is a native of Constantinople—a connexion which has probably in a great measure served to keep up the enthusiasm of his classical inspirations.

† Mr. Wilkinson, British consul in Wallachia and Moldavia,



became intimately acquainted, Counts de Rochecouart, Venançon, and Dunin, Mr. Castillo, the Spanish consul, and Messrs. Raynaud and Sicaud, two of the principal merchants of the place. I can never forget the agreeable moments which, from the hour of eleven to that of two in the morning, glided away with that kind of rapidity which sometimes makes us regret life's short duration. How sadly the scene has changed ! The duke is no longer numbered among the living. Among the others, changes have occurred which cannot let me hope that I shall ever meet them again on the same convivial footing. Some have got married, and are by this time surrounded by a numerous progeny, who absorb their thoughts and fetter their actions. Others are living at thousands of miles from each other. With one alone my intimacy, commenced at the Duke de Richelieu's table, has hardly suffered any interruption. Chance has brought Mr. Wilkinson and myself together in many other countries after our de-

has, on his return from those principalities, published a statistical work relative to them, comprising a faithful and elaborate description of the manners and customs of their inhabitants. Such a work was till then wanting in European literature, and has fully disclosed to distant nations the importance of a country till then but little known. Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Gordon were travelling together in Russia at the time that I formed their acquaintance.



parture from Odessa ; and the foundation of the friendship so long ago commenced between us has proved as uniformly gratifying as it has been and is likely to be lasting.

The Duke de Richelieu frequently entertained us with the curious particulars of his long campaigns against the Circassians. The interest I took in his anecdotes respecting their chief, Aslan-Gherai, was so great, that his nephew, the Count de Rochechouart, who acted as his principal aide-de-camp in those campaigns, favoured me with a few notes relative to that celebrated warrior, which shall afford matter for the next chapter.



## CHAPTER IX.

Some account of the life of Aslan-Gherai—Breaking out of the plague at Odessa—Change in my plans in consequence of that event—Destructive effects of the plague—Determination to proceed to Constantinople—A Turkish pasha's notions of the omnipotence of his three tails—The plague considered, and the mode of treatment apparently best adapted for that disease.

IN the delightful regions of Circassia, till lately peopled by different tribes, who were all ruled by their respective chiefs, Mouradin Bey had, by his personal bravery and by his extortions, acquired a power which made him the dread of his own vassals and the terror of his neighbours. But in spite of the hatred he inspired he was caressed and courted by most of the surrounding chiefs. He was possessed of immense wealth, and of a daughter, who was an only child, whose virtues, accomplishments, and expectations, made her an



object in every respect worthy of the homage which many a powerful suitor was anxious to pay her.

Mouradin was proud of his daughter's accomplishments, and loved to make an ostentatious display of them in festivals, to which he invited the princes and warriors who claimed the honour of aspiring to the hand of the fair Alkazia. As the women in Circassia are kept in far less restraint than in other parts of the East, and show themselves unveiled at the places of public worship and amusement, Alkazia was frequently allowed to preside at the public games in her father's palace, where strength and address were displayed in darting the javelin, managing the lance, drawing the bow, foot-racing, and equestrian exercises of various kinds. Among those who most distinguished themselves by their expertness on similar occasions, and who more eagerly sought to make themselves worthy of Alkazia's notice, was the young Aslan-Gherai. He was a descendant of the sovereigns of the Crimea, and though hardly yet in his twentieth year, had gained considerable repute for his personal bravery, and his entire fitness in the Circassian art of war. Alkazia had frequently awarded to him the prize at these gymnastic exercises, and her heart became at last the recompense that she was



most anxious to bestow on the valorous youth. Their eyes soon revealed their sentiments to each other, and Aslan-Gherai, though poor and powerless, resolved to solicit the bey's permission to their union. Accordingly, he presented himself before Mouradin, at a moment when the bey was discussing the plan of an expedition which promised an abundant booty. Not doubting but Aslan had come to offer his services, he told him at once that he should consider success infallible when having the assistance of so distinguished a warrior. "I come," said Aslan, "first to solicit the hand of her whom I love, and on whose affections I rely. Though bereft of my domains, I am still the rightful descendant of a sovereign house, and I trust to my sword for the future achievement of honours which shall make up for what the fate of arms has deprived other members of my family.—It is your daughter's hand I ask."—"My daughter's hand!" exclaimed Mouradin: "my surprise is equal to my wrath! Knowest thou not that the most powerful princes of Circassia would give half of their treasures to obtain only the hope of such an alliance?—and thou, whose only patrimony is his arms and his horse, an outcast on the wide world, darest to ask the preference over the most powerful of the land!—Go, my poor boy; I pardon thy audacity because



I esteem thy virtues ; but if I learn that my daughter should, after my will has been made known to her give thee the smallest encouragement to think of her, depend upon it I bestow her on the very man who brings me the information !”

His hopes thus blasted, and seeing nothing but humiliation and misery reserved for him in this land, Aslan-Gherai resolved to leave it ; but, if possible, to induce Alkazia to accompany him. The fair Circassian could not bear the thoughts of being deserted by her lover ; and well aware of the inflexibility of her father’s resolves, she yielded to Aslan’s entreaties.

Both mounted on the same steed, and favoured by the darkness of the night, they made the best of their way towards the Kuban, the western banks of which were occupied by Russian troops. Their flight, however, had been soon discovered, and hardly had they, by day-break, reached the borders of that river, when a party of some riders in pursuit overtook them. To surrender quietly was a thought which could not enter the daring mind of Aslan-Gherai. He therefore got off his horse, concealed Alkazia in a thicket, mounted again, and rushed upon the pursuers with so much impetuosity, that after cutting down several of them, the others turned about, and proceeded to join the more numerous body of the guards who



had been despatched as a reserve in the pursuit. Nothing was now left but to dash into the deep and rapid waters of the Kuban. Aslan fastened Alkazia on his horse, and then taking the bridle in his hand, they plunged resolutely into the stream, and fortunately succeeded in reaching safely the opposite banks. On this side of the river, guarded by the Cossacks of the Black Sea, they were in safety. Some of these had witnessed the bravery displayed by Aslan, and were willing to afford every assistance in their power in protecting him and his charge against any further danger. He desired them to conduct him to their general. They brought him before the Duke de Richelieu, who commanded in chief the Russian forces employed against the Circassians. Aslan stated his case to the duke, claimed his protection, and requested to be allowed to enter the Russian service that he might be enabled to avenge his wrongs. His request was acceded to, and from that moment Aslan-Gherai became one of the Circassians' most formidable foes. Abundance of opportunities offered themselves during the campaign, wherein his services were highly useful. He led the Russians through the intricate passes of the Caucasus, and greatly distinguished himself at the storming of Anappa. At the close of that campaign the emperor, at the recommenda-



tion of the Duke de Richelieu, rewarded his bravery, by conferring on him the cross of St. George and a medallion of honour.

In the campaign of 1810, against the Circassians, Aslan-Gherai displayed so much intrepidity and valour, that he carried terror among the enemy, who fled at the mere cry that Aslan-Gherai was coming. He was chiefly instrumental in the taking of the fortress of Sougiouk-Kallay, on which occasion, besides being promoted to the rank of a general, he received from the emperor the gift of a sword, the hilt of which was mounted in brilliants, and bore this inscription: "Reward for Valour."

The Circassian tribes most obnoxious to the Russians having been subdued, Aslan-Gherai retired to the spot he had selected for his Alkazia's residence during his absence in the field, to enjoy some repose. This, however, was not very long allowed him. In the autumn of 1811 the Chap-sicks, one of the most remote but most turbulent tribes of Circassia, having again broken out into open hostility against Russia, troops were sent against them, and Aslan-Gherai was desired to take a command in the expedition. He did so, and on one occasion having, according to his usual practice, suffered himself to be carried away by his impetuosity, he rushed alone into the



ranks of the enemy, where he received several mortal wounds. His detachment followed close at his heels, and forcing the Circassians to give way, picked up Aslan, who was not yet quite dead. He desired those who carried him off the field of battle to take him to the tent of General Roudzievitz, the commander-in-chief, to whose care he fervently recommended his wife Alkazia, and in whose presence he soon after breathed his last, being then only in the twenty-fourth year of his age. Poor Alkazia's grief was unspeakable: she has never recovered from it, nor does she wish it ever to change. She lives retired at Sevastopol in the Crimea. In the garden of her house the remains of her husband are deposited, and she waits with impatience for the time when she may be taken to lie by them for ever.

Towards the middle of October, while I was preparing to resume my journey, in order to visit the Crimea before the close of the fine season, an event occurred at Odessa which produced a complete change in all my travelling plans. The plague, which had been raging with great violence all the summer at Constantinople, was brought to Odessa by an Austrian vessel. Several of her crew had died on the passage, and she was admitted into the lazaretto before this fact had been ascertained. Notwithstanding the rigour with



which the local authorities had endeavoured to enforce the quarantine regulations in regard to vessels coming from the Bosphorus, some of the crew of the one which had the plague on board succeeded in bribing the quarantine guardians, and were allowed to land at night, to regale themselves in the neighbouring brandy shops. The consequences of this violation of duty were almost immediate. Most of the subaltern officers employed at the lazaretto were attacked with the disease, and in the course of a week it spread itself over the whole town.

The consternation into which this untoward occurrence threw all the inhabitants of Odessa cannot be described. All the Polish families who had not yet departed hastened to quit the town, lest the sanitary *cordon* which it was determined to draw around it should make them close prisoners in town, and perhaps ultimately victims to the fatal contagion. The merchants closed their counting-houses, the traders their warehouses, and the whole aspect of the town underwent so complete a change in a few days, that one might have imagined Napoleon had threatened to send a few of his legions from Moscow to commit every thing here to fire and sword. All kinds of restrictions were prescribed by the local government, and people ceased to have any other communication with each other save that



which was necessary for the supply of their most indispensable wants.

On my application to the Duke de Richelieu for a passport to proceed to the Crimea, the duke declared to me that, under existing circumstances, he could not give me one ; at the same time assuring me that, if he did so, such were the measures adopted on all the confines of his government in cutting off communication with Odessa, that independently of a quarantine of six weeks, I might be subjected to beyond the *cordon*, another similar purification would await me on my entrance into the Crimea. The case was rather perplexing. To think of spending twelve weeks in quarantines to be performed perhaps in the most unsuitable places in the world, and partly during the wet and stormy season, was out of the question. On the other hand, the danger of remaining in a place where the plague, in spite of the utmost exertions used to arrest its progress, threatened to rage with great violence, was such, that almost any sacrifice of time and comfort seemed preferable to it. In a few days all the doors of my acquaintance were closed on me, and the only persons with whom I could hold any intercourse were the Count Dunin, and Messrs. Gordon and Wilkinson, who were placed in a predicament similar to mine, and were at a loss what course to pursue. After discussing



together for several days on what was best to be done, we all agreed on remaining at Odessa until the contagion had so far abated as to bring about some relaxation in the severity of the measures adopted by the government. We therefore hired by the month a large and isolated house ; and had hardly removed into it when a new order was issued, forbidding all the inhabitants to go out of their houses, upon pain of being shot at by sentinels posted in the streets. Some persons were allowed to circulate in order to carry the necessary provisions to each house. It was a lucky thought on the part of my companions in seclusion and myself which brought us in time together under the same roof. We bore our misfortune as well as we could, and indeed contrived to spend our time very agreeably. A spacious garden attached to our dwelling afforded us the means of taking exercise, at the same time that it supplied us with fruit and vegetables of various kinds. A billiard table, left in the house by Prince Radzivil, its late occupant, was another source of amusement, and we were all fortunately well provided with books and writing materials.

Our dinners, though in many respects scanty, did not always remind us that we were at the mercy of a *pourvoyeur*, and our evenings were passed in interesting discussions on literary sub-



jects. Two months were spent under this *régime*, to which we so soon had reconciled ourselves, that when the time arrived at which it was intimated to us that we were at liberty to quit Odessa if we pleased, we could not help experiencing a feeling of regret at the approaching change of our lately acquired habits.

Mr. Gordon resolved on proceeding to Constantinople in an English vessel which was about to sail. He had spoken to us so much of Turkey during our seclusion, that Count Dunin and myself had conceived a strong desire to visit the Ottoman capital, and we were now easily prevailed upon to accompany him. Our fourth companion being under the necessity of repairing to Wallachia, left us to proceed by land to that principality.

Previous to our embarkation some curious incidents occurred at Odessa which gave me a practical notion of the character of the people whom I was about to visit. A Turkish pasha had arrived for the purpose of directing the arrangements relative to the exchange of prisoners made during the late war. This man was one morning put out of humour by one of his own Mahometan attendants, whom he forthwith ordered to be beheaded in the yard of the house which he inhabited. Fortunately for the poor violator of the pasha's peace of mind, two Russian



soldiers who, as a mark of honour conferred on the *three tails* of this Ottoman grandee, were standing as sentinels at his door, in sight of the spot chosen for the execution, interfered in time to prevent the shedding of blood. The Duke de Richelieu was soon made acquainted with the matter, and immediately despatched the *commandant de la place*, General Kobley, to the pasha, to remonstrate with him on this extraordinary conduct. The pasha, however, could not be made to understand that his three tails did not allow him in Russia to take away the life of any of his own Mahometan dependants. He asserted his right of doing so with so much vehemence, that the general, seeing him bent upon the immediate display of it, found it prudent to place his Mahometan excellency in a state of restraint. A military guard was stationed in his room to watch his actions, and was only removed on the pasha's making a solemn promise not to think again of cutting off any heads in Russia.

Many days did not elapse, however, before this same man outstepped the bounds of his authority in a manner which forced the Duke de Richelieu to give him orders to quit the Russian territory immediately.

A young and beautiful Turkish woman, who had been taken prisoner at the storming of Razgrad,



was residing at Odessa with the family of General Rajeffsky, who treated her with so much kindness that, having no home of her own, and her parents being both dead, she had no wish or inducement to return to her native country. She had embraced Christianity, had adopted the European costume, and was betrothed to one of the general's aides-de-camp, to whom she was to be speedily united. The pasha made proposals to her that she should return to Turkey, which were rejected without hesitation. One morning, while she was passing by the pasha's residence, some of his attendants seized her, forced her into the house, and brought her into the presence of the pasha, who loaded her with reproaches for her infidelity and treachery to the Mahometan cause, and ordered her to be placed under confinement in another room, from thence to be taken the next day to one of the vessels on board of which the Turkish prisoners were to be embarked. It fortunately happened that Madame Rajeffsky obtained immediate knowledge of these proceedings, and she hastened to the Duke de Richelieu to request his assistance in rescuing the poor girl from the grasp of this despot. A demand was instantly made of the pasha in the duke's name for the girl's liberation, which was peremptorily refused. The pasha's house was therefore sur-



rounded with soldiers, and the commissary of the police forced his entrance into it, and rescued the captive from the hands of the Turks. On the following day the pasha was sent under an escort on board of one of the Turkish vessels, and compelled to set sail immediately for Constantinople.

When I went to take my leave of the Duke de Richelieu, he was still under the *régime* of precautions adopted for the prevention of personal contact, and a kind of balustrade separated us during our conversation. The blow which Odessa had suffered had deeply afflicted him. He told me that he hardly ventured to hope that the place would ever recover from its effects, notwithstanding the most energetic measures taken not only to stop its progress, but to destroy it at the very root. The elements, however, proved as adverse to this destroyer of Russian prosperity, as they at the same time did to the invader who had overrun the empire. It is a peculiar quality in the plague that its virulence cannot stand against the extremes of temperature. Excessive heat and excessive cold are equally destructive to it ; but I believe that the latter extreme acts with still greater efficacy than the other. At least so it proved on this occasion ; for, since the celebrated



winter of 1812, the plague has not again appeared at Odessa.

A variety of experiments were tried by all the medical men then residing there, in the hope of discovering some effectual mode of treatment; but they failed in every instance, solely on account of the rapidity of the progress of the disease, and the danger of contact with the patient. Indeed the most enterprising of those who volunteered their services became victims of their intrepidity, and in the space of a few weeks there was hardly a physician or surgeon left to apply to in other cases of need. The first symptoms of this horrid disease are headache and nausea: high fever and delirium succeed in the course of a few hours; and when the miasma is of a very poisonous kind the patient dies before the full developement of the primary symptoms. Much of this, however, depends upon the previous habit of body and the strength of the constitution. There are some men who will endure the violence of the attack for a longer period than others, and these have always the best chance of escaping. If we may judge from the great characteristic of this disease, which is a tumor generally breaking out in the groins or under the arm-pits, we must suppose the pestilence to consist of a subtle virus, which circulates with great activity through the system,



poisons the whole mass of the blood, and has always a tendency to vent itself through some part of the body. The occurrence of the bubo is therefore hailed as the most favorable symptom. Soon after its appearance the fever begins to abate. If it can be made to suppurate, the patient's life is in a fair way of being preserved; but if the part continue inflamed for thirty-six hours without a tendency to suppuration, death is sure to ensue.

I am not sufficiently initiated in the mysteries of Æsculapius to enter here into scientific details respecting the experiments which were tried at Odessa; neither, indeed, would this prove in any way satisfactory, since none of them were attended with success; but it appeared to me that the principle generally acted upon was truly suggested by the nature and progress of the disease, and might have been productive of benefit if circumstances had rendered perseverance possible. The first object seemed to be that of checking the progress of the disease on the earliest manifestation of its symptoms, by procuring violent perspiration, and having recourse to cooling purgatives. If these did not abate the fever it was left to take its course, until the appearance of the bubo. Cataplasms were then instantly applied, and continued without intermission, to procure suppura-



tion. When this was accomplished the bubo was left to its own operation, and a copious discharge relieved the patient of all other troublesome symptoms. It generally remained open two or three weeks, then closed of itself. Excessive weakness remained, and a very long convalescence ensued: it was deemed highly dangerous to attempt to restore the patient's strength by stimulants of any kind. Nature alone was left to act of her own accord in restoring him to perfect health.

In two or three hundred cases, however, which occurred for some time every day at Odessa, the number who had the good fortune to survive was so extremely small, that I hardly had the means of ascertaining the nature and progress of the malady in any. It is remarkable, that when the first hard frost set in the fresh attacks were of a benignant kind, and death did not ensue; but when the cold became extremely severe, no more attacks were heard of, and the houses of the sick were made to undergo thorough purification. All the smaller ones were demolished, and every article contained in those which could not be condemned to that fate was consigned to the flames.



## CHAPTER X.

Departure from Odessa—Dangers of the Black Sea navigation during the stormy season—Arrival in the Bosphorus—Beauty of scenery—Landing at Bouyoukdéré—Introduction to Prince Caragiu—Some account of the political events which had led to his appointment as hospodar of Wallachia—News from France—Remarks on the state of that country by a Russian diplomatist.

AT the time that I visited Odessa the navigation of the Black Sea was yet so imperfectly known, and so much dreaded, that from the 1st of December to the first of March it remained entirely suspended, not a single vessel venturing to brave the dangers of which the intervening months were deemed to be productive. The master of an English vessel, however, the first which had made its appearance since the peace between Russia and England, having been detained till the middle of December on account of the plague, resolved to put to sea on his way back to the Bos-



phorus. My friends and I took our passage on board of this vessel, and on the sixteenth of December we sailed for Constantinople. Soon after we doubled the Cape Achilles, called by the Turks and Greeks the island of serpents. Its ancient name was *Dromos Achilleos*, or the path of Achilles. It is situated at about five hundred stades from the entrance of the Thyras, and seven hundred from the Boristhenes. Formerly the scene of a hero's exercises, this spot is now no more than a gloomy desert, abandoned to sea birds and serpents, which are said to grow there to an enormous size. It is from this point that the course to the Bosphorus is regulated. The difficulty of proceeding thither in the stormy parts of the year appears to arise chiefly from the circumstance that a current, which always propels towards the southern coast, is so irregular and deceptive, that no calculation as to progress and distance can be properly relied upon. Now, the accuracy of this calculation is a matter of the highest importance, inasmuch as it is upon the exact distance between Cape Achilles and the entrance of the Bosphorus that the seaman has alone to rely in dark and stormy weather for fetching that narrow and invisible entrance. An error is frequently fatal, the coast on each side of the Bosphorus being extremely dangerous, and



hardly to be got clear of when any mistake as to locality has been discovered, on account of the power of the current, against which no effort can contend.

On passing Cape Achilles we had a strong wind in our favour, which soon rose to a violent gale. The sky was involved in dark clouds, the waves ran tremendously high, the ship rolled in such a manner as every moment to threaten an overturn, and our captain, who had trusted to his own general experience in navigation, and had taken no pilot to assist him, began to think that he had trusted too far. In this state of constant apprehension, and to my friends and myself serious alarm, we remained for about twenty-four hours, when the wind suddenly abated, and soon after we found ourselves about fifty miles nearer to the entrance of the Bosphorus than the captain's reckoning made him believe we were; so that, had the storm continued, we must have approached the coast in the middle of night, when probably nothing less than a miracle could have saved us from destruction.

From all these circumstances it appears to me, that although the dangers of the Black Sea navigation may have been till then exaggerated, they are much greater than perhaps those which are encountered in any other sea.



The entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus is extremely narrow, being only one mile in breadth. Its whole length is about twenty miles, and its general depth eighty fathoms. A current runs through it from north to south at the rate of four miles an hour: in some winding parts it is so strong as to baffle all attempts to work against it without the aid of a stiff breeze. Its banks are generally steep, and in some places rise almost perpendicularly from the water's edge. It is impossible to consider the nature of this channel without coming to the conclusion that it has been formed by some great convulsion of nature. It seems as though the overflowing waters of the Euxine, incessantly propelled by the action of the immense rivers which run into it, had forced their way into the adjoining sea through the shortest neck of land which had stood in their way.

To describe the transition of our passage from a boisterous sea and regions where winter had already "spread its hoary mantle," into the placid waters of the Bosphorus, smoothly wading their course under the finest sky, and in the glare of the brightest sun, would be a task above the power of my pen. Nature was here yet clad in all its richness. Each side of the entrance was studded with fortifications, whose whitewashed walls were seen ascending in various lines among



the verdant hills above. Further on a single row of pretty and variously-coloured houses, forming a village called Bouyoukdéré, on the water's edge, near two miles in length, was overlooked by an equally extensive range of terraces, most beautifully laid out as flower-gardens and shaded walks, the whole crowned with heights, the sloping sides of which appeared to the distant eye like one endless carpet of that bright green peculiar to the vine with which they were thickly covered. The opposite Asiatic shore was bordered by a range of richly cultivated hills, and trees of all sizes and descriptions. We cast anchor near Bouyoukdéré: the *ensemble* of the scenery by which we were surrounded formed a picture which, if surpassed in grandeur and magnificence in other parts of the Bosphorus, could not be equalled by any in placidity of aspect and charms of a romantic kind.

Bouyoukdéré is the country retreat of most of the foreign ambassadors and wealthy Europeans residing in Constantinople. It is entirely inhabited by Christians. As our vessel was only a stone's throw from its quays, several persons came on board to congratulate our captain for his boldness in braving the dangers of the Euxine at a time of the year when no vessels dared to put to sea. Our companion Mr. Gordon seemed to be



well known to every one, and received on all sides a hearty welcome. He advised us to land here with him, and we followed him, with our baggage, to an inn called *L'Hotel de l'Europe*, kept by an Italian, where we met with very good accommodations and most excellent fare.

The civilities we experienced from most of the inhabitants of Bouyoukdéré induced us to spend some days before we proceeded to visit the great capital of the Ottoman empire, from which we were now only twelve miles distant by land and fifteen by sea. Here we became acquainted with the hospodar of Wallachia, Prince Caragia, whom a singular turn of fortune had recently placed on the hospodarian throne. He was about to proceed to his principality, and he invited me to visit him at Bukorest, where I little thought at that time I should, in the course of a few months, have occasion to proceed.

The circumstances which had led to the unexpected choice made of Caragia on this occasion are in too many respects interesting to be passed over with a mere allusion to them. They were so many times related to me by well-informed persons at Constantinople, that the reader may rely on the statement of them which I am about to offer to his perusal.



Three Greek families of the Fannar,\* Mourousi, Ipsilanti, and Soutzo, had, for upwards of fifty years, contrived to secure the monopoly of the governments of Wallachia and Moldavia, and, through their intrigues, to establish a kind of hereditary right to the dignity of hospodar, renewable every seven years.

The two first named had long enjoyed the suffrage and indirect protection of the Russian court, who, in virtue of treaties long ago entered into with Turkey, had reserved a right of interference with the internal administration of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the privilege of participating in the choice made by the Porte of the individuals who were to be placed at the head of those principalities.

The Soutzos had devoted themselves to the party in the Turkish cabinet which was most decidedly hostile to Russian influence. They therefore became connected with the French embassy in Constantinople at the time when Bonaparte was anxious to destroy every kind of friendly tie between Russia and the Porte, and to induce the latter to surrender the guidance of its

\* Fannar is the name of a district in Constantinople in which the wealthy Greeks reside.



politics to his controul. Two members of that family were then holding the confidential offices of state interpreters to the Porte and the arsenal, in which they had it abundantly in their power to favour Bonaparte's views. The services of the former were rewarded by the good offices of the French ambassador being employed in his favour, that he might obtain the appointment of hospodar of Wallachia, although the seven years stipulated in the treaties had not yet been completed by the then hospodar, Ipsilanti, in the government of that principality. Bonaparte's influence having entirely superseded that of Russia at the Porte, an infraction of the treaties of so minor an importance, and made at the instigation of so powerful an ally and supporter, was not deemed at all likely to lead to any serious consequences. Ipsilanti was therefore recalled before the expiration of his time, and Soutzo was appointed hospodar in his place.

I have in a former chapter spoken of the measures promptly taken by Russia to obtain reparation for this ill-advised step of the Turkish government. The consequences forced Turkey into a ruinous state of hostility with Russia, which lasted from 1806 to 1811, when the former, finding herself quite exhausted by efforts which had long ceased to have any decided object in



view, and the latter, pressed by Napoleon's active preparations against her, both tacitly acknowledged the necessity of speedily compromising their differences. Overtures were made, and plenipotentiaries were sent to Bukorest to accelerate the work of peace.

The state interpreter, Mourousi, had accompanied the Turkish minister to Bukorest. A good deal of the negotiation devolved upon him. He was instructed to insist on the *statu quo* as it was previous to the breaking out of the war ; and there is no doubt that he would have obtained it if he had performed his duty faithfully. But Mourousi, on the contrary, prevailed on the Ottoman plenipotentiary to consent to the cession of the whole of that part of Moldavia which is situated between the Dniester and the Pruth. He was well aware that so important a service to the interests of Russia could not be acknowledged by any thing less than a recommendation to the Porte that he should be appointed hospodar to one of the principalities about to be restored to the Turks.

The recommendation was in fact made and strongly urged, after the exchange of the ratifications ; but at the same time the pretensions of Soutzo were again brought into the field, and Bonaparte's ambassador again exerted himself



with as much activity in his cause as the Russians did in that of Mourousi.

Sultan Mahmoud, who had ascended the throne long after the occurrence of the circumstances which had preceded and led to the war, and was therefore a complete stranger to the pretensions of all the contending parties, very wisely resolved to accept none of the candidates offered to his notice under the auspices of French and Russian protection. He therefore desired his confidential minister, Halett-Effendi, to look out for some Greek of the Fannar who was qualified for the appointment, and who had never connected himself with any foreign party. The venerable and much respected Prince Demetrius Ghika, son of a former hospodar of Moldavia, living in obscurity and poverty, with a numerous family, in one of the most retired villages near the Bosphorus, had, in former days of prosperity, been the friend and patron of Halett-Effendi, for whom he laid the foundation of the power he was now exercising as the favourite companion and confidential adviser of the sultan. Halett thought of his benefactor Ghika on this occasion, proposed him to the sultan, and was commanded to send for him and intimate to him that the sultan's choice had fallen on him.

The messenger despatched to Ghika to require his attendance was one of those personages



whose outward insignia of office announced him to be a capigee-bashi, or chamberlain, to whom the task is always intrusted of notifying his master's good-will and pleasure that certain persons should not continue to endure the miseries of life. Ghika did not happen to be at home on his arrival; and as the capigee-bashi appeared disposed to wait until he saw him, the whole family were seized with consternation, and secret messengers were despatched in all directions to prevent his return home. Halett-Effendi, after several days' fruitless efforts to find out his old friend, was at length obliged to give up all thoughts of him; and as time pressed, and it was necessary to get rid of the importunities of the Russian and French embassies by the announcement that the appointment had been filled up with a person of the sultan's own choice, Halett-Effendi then thought of this Caragia, who was also living in obscurity and great poverty, and who had never occupied any conspicuous office. Caragia answered the summons with more alacrity than Ghika, and immediately received the glad tidings of his approaching elevation.

I have been assured by persons who were well acquainted with Caragia and his family, that until the day when he was informed of the good fortune which awaited him, he was in such a state



of poverty that his daughters were under the necessity of knitting stockings and purses for the purpose of earning the means of a scanty livelihood, and that frequently the whole family spent weeks in living on olives and brown bread.

When I became acquainted with him, Caragia must have been about sixty years of age. I found him a very agreeable and sensible man; he spoke French fluently, and conversed with ease on every subject.

At Bouyoukdéré I had the pleasure of meeting an old acquaintance, who had recently arrived from Paris, and from him I was anxious to obtain intelligence relative to my friends in France. This gentleman, a Russian chamberlain, many years attached to the Russian embassy in Paris, very obligingly offered to satisfy my curiosity, and invited me to breakfast for that purpose. The information I received from Mr. Balk was of a painful interest, so great had been the changes which had taken place in my native country since the time when circumstances forced me to forsake its soil. The political storms by which it had been convulsed appeared even more dreadful than those of the elements which I lately had had the good fortune of escaping on the Euxine. "All these exiles, reverses of fortune, imprisonments, and executions," observed Mr. Balk, in answer to



my remarks, “are the necessary attendants of the system which now prevails. The number of persons who have, by death or banishment, ceased to form part of the nation is prodigious ; but it is, after all, proportioned to the present population. The gay citizens of Paris have lost none of the sprightliness for which they have been so remarkable, in consequence of the dreadful scenes which it has been so long their fate to witness. Since the establishment of the consular government I have visited Paris at different periods ; but I never could perceive the slightest difference in the character and deportment of its inhabitants, though some of the great events which have occurred were calculated to produce a profound impression on their minds. Indeed, sir, I should judge that your nation possesses the merit of constancy to a much greater extent than any other. I have seen your emigrants, all of them precipitated from the high rank of society in which they were born, ruined and proscribed, and without the smallest hope of ever seeing again a prosperous day, bear their misfortunes with a philosophy of the most stoic kind. In our frozen regions, as well as under the serene sky of Naples, I have seen them laugh at every thing, forget every thing, applaud with enthusiasm at sallies of wit, and console themselves for every loss and



privation, so long as they found listeners willing to indulge their *besoin de parler*. Your nation is, indeed, an extraordinary one ; familiar with all kinds of heroism and extravagance, it unites a fearless audacity to the obedience of the slave ; a single reverse throws it into consternation ; a fête restores confidence to it, and a song consoles it for every misfortune. When it agitates itself the earth shakes : used to all the luxuries of life, yet suffering privation without surprise or discontent ; a powerful Colossus, at the same time possessing all the playfulness and amiability of children ; capable of tracing the wisest plans, and wanting energy to execute them ; standing in need at the same time of glory, servitude, and amusement ; it can accomplish all except its own happiness, and acquire every thing excepting solid sense. The embellishments of Paris, executed under the auspices of the present ruler of France, have contributed more to the revival of the former bondage of its inhabitants than any oppressive means could have done. The Parisians are thereby incessantly reminded of the great triumphs achieved by their arms, and their vanity being flattered, precludes all thoughts of more substantial enjoyments. Every wreath of laurel has been acquired at the expense of torrents of blood ; but your countrymen prefer glory to happiness,



and the hatred of all Europe to the cultivation of friendly relations on an equal footing with the rest of mankind. Posterity may admire those monuments raised for the gratification of national pride ; but we of other nations must deplore them. Despotism has in France become essentially allied to political greatness ; but it is a despotism checked by satire and controlled by a song. French history may afford many an amusing page hereafter ; but I think, with Montesquieu, that the happiest nation has been that whose history is the least amusing."

These critical remarks on my countrymen were made in a manner so lively and good-natured, that it was impossible to feel offended with Mr. Balk's indulgence in them ; nor could I, with every wish to find them at fault, refuse to acquiesce in their pointedness and truth. All I gathered from his conversation afforded, however, the painful conviction that the possibility of my return to France was still more remote than it had yet been. I did not quite participate in the indifference ascribed to my fellow-emigrants as to their fate, and the idea of passing my days as a wanderer in foreign lands constantly acted as a drawback on the pleasures afforded by the frequent changes of scene.



## CHAPTER XI.

A diplomatic banker—Excursion on the Bosphorus—Description of its more remarkable parts—Arrival at Constantinople—Unfriendly greeting on landing at Tophanné—Pera—Dancing dervises—The Porte—The Seraglio—St. Sophia—The hippodrome—Palace of Belisarius—The sultan's procession to the mosque.

“Do you wish to speak to the minister of his Saxon majesty?”—“No.”—“To the Danish minister?”—“Neither.”—“Then what may be your business, sir?”—“To get this bill accepted.”—“Oh! I understand; be so good as to go up two pair of stairs, and in the ante-room facing the landing-place you will find persons who will direct you how to proceed.”

These questions were put to me by a fat porter in splendid livery, in the hall of a magnificent house at Bouyoukdéré, belonging to the Baron Hubsch, diplomatic functionary by profession, re-



presenting their Saxon and Danish majesties at the Porte, and banker by trade, for whom I had letters of recommendation and credit. I followed the directions given me, and was shown into a large room, where this triple personage was sitting surrounded by his wife and three daughters. The venerable baron, after reading the letters I presented to him, welcomed me to the capital of the Ottoman empire, and dinner being immediately after announced, very obligingly pressed me to partake of it. At so great a distance from one's country, and in a land so un-Christian, acquaintances are very soon formed and intimacy is speedily established. The baron was a very talkative old gentleman, apparently delighting in supplying strangers with agreeable and useful information to guide them in their researches after the curiosities of the distant regions they had come to visit. From him I learned in the course of my stay at Constantinople, a variety of particulars respecting the sultan, the seraglio, the Porte, and other equally important subjects, with which his long residence here, and the sources of information within his reach had made him conversant. His daughters treated us, after dinner, with vocal and piano-forte performances, in which they excelled, and we took tea in the magnificent garden attached to the house, which, though we were then in December,



was yet in all the bloom and verdure of spring. The baron offered me the use of his barge for my excursions on the Bosphorus and elsewhere, and pressed my acceptance of its aid, assuring me that boats are here almost as necessary as they are in Venice.

On the following day I started in the baron's barge, accompanied by my friend Mr. Gordon, who very kindly insisted on becoming my *cicerone*, and we were rowed up the Bosphorus, in the direction of the capital. The first object to which my attention was directed was a height on which once stood the temple of Jupiter Urius, and the altar of the twelve gods. It is now called the Giant's Mountain, which appellation it derives from a very extensive tomb on the summit of the hill which commands it, formerly denominated the Couch of Hercules, and which is faithfully preserved by the Turks, who believe that it contains the sacred bones of a gigantic dervis. The traveller Le Chevalier thinks that it is the tomb of Amycus, vanquished by Pollux, whom Valerius Flaccus calls the giant, and who, according to Dionysius of Byzantium, had established his court in one of the neighbouring gulfs. On the right, the beautiful and verdant valley of Bouyoukdéré, from which the neighbouring village derives its name, presents itself to view in all its depth. An immense beech-



tree stands alone in the very centre of it. It consists of eight trunks standing in a circular form, and claiming but one root. This phenomenon of the vegetable world would justify belief in the existence of the hundred-horse tree on Mount *Ætna*.\*

We passed by the little harbour of *Therapia*, at the entrance of which is a small pointed rock, rising about six feet out of the water, formerly called "the point of justice." *Dionysius of Byzantium* relates that two navigators once deposited their money in a small hollow in this rock, vowing not to touch it again without each other's consent. One of them however returned alone, for the purpose of carrying away the money; but on endeavouring to raise the stone with which the hollow had been stopped, it crushed him to death. From this fable, current among the fishermen of *Byzantium*, its name had been derived. The village itself of *Therapia* is a row of houses encircling the harbour, at the backs of which terraces laid out as flower-gardens, orchards,

\* The author of the "*Annals of Travels*" says that the largest tree on earth is the *Cubbihr-Burr*, denominated by the Hindoos "The Bananean of *Cubbihr*," in honour of the *Bramah* saint of that name. That gigantic tree measures two thousand feet in circumference round the widest part of its branches, and has sheltered seven thousand persons during a fête given under it.



and pleasure-grounds, formed by art and assisted by nature, present to the view a species of amphitheatre at once novel, grand, and picturesque. About a mile beyond Therapia is the ancient Pithecus, now called Kalender, opposite to which at the extremity of a small gulf, formerly called the Gulf of Amycus, is a deep and verdant valley with stately avenues of beech-trees. This delightful spot, called by some Hounkiar-Skelessi, and by others the Sultan's landing-place, presents a majestic picture, in which a thousand different pictures are embraced. It is a very favourite promenade with the inhabitants of the neighbouring shores, and numerous parties come here on holidays from more distant parts, to spend the day, bringing their provisions along with them in their boats, and spreading their cloths on the smooth grass, under the shade of some tall tree. Turks, Armenians, Jews, and Christians mix here in mirth and revelry, and the variety of costume, together with the splendour of the native ladies' dresses, gives an interest to the scene peculiar only to this part of the world. About a mile from hence, on the European side, is another gulf called Stenia, which nature seems to have intended as a shelter for vessels, when wind and current have united against them with too great a force. It was formerly called Asthenia. We came next to a little



creek called Balta-Liman, which has gained celebrity from its being the place in which Mahomet II. surnamed *Fatish*, or conqueror, caused the boats to be constructed which set at nought the chains drawn across the harbour of Constantinople, by being carried overland to Galata, and there affording a passage for his troops to the very heart of the capital. Beyond this creek is seen a tower on the water's edge, built in the Saracen style, originally intended to signalise the spot from which the conquering Mahometans made the last start against the besiegers, who had long kept them at bay. This is the narrowest part of the Bosphorus, and is supposed to be the very spot over which Darius threw his bridge of boats to continue his march against the Scythians. On the opposite coast, another Saracen tower is to be seen corresponding to the one on the European shore. Both are used as state-prisons, and are the scenes of nightly executions on the refractory subjects of the sultan. They are privately strangled here, after which a large stone is tied round their necks, and they are flung into the Bosphorus. Not far from these receptacles of political victims is situated a magnificent house, built almost in the sea, called the Palace of Conferences, and which serves, in fact, as a place where interviews take place between the ministers of the Porte and the foreign ambassadors, during



the fine season of the year, when all are supposed to reside in country-houses situated on the banks of the Bosphorus. A little way beyond is a magnificent palace, which seems as though raised by a magic hand. Its outside is painted in a variety of bright colours, and though with numberless windows, the mysteries of the harem are concealed from the view of every profane beholder by means of gilt lattices. On each side of the Bosphorus palaces of this kind abound. They are the summer retreats of female descendants of the imperial race. The most remarkable of these buildings, from the extent of ground it occupies, and the variety and richness of its external ornaments, is the palace of Dolma Bahtché, the sultan's favourite country residence. Although in sight of the seraglio, and but two miles distant from it, the sultan regularly removes to it with all his household at the beginning of every spring. How great the number of delightful villas which border the whole coast of the Bosphorus! How beautiful the gardens attached to them! What an exquisite mixture of flowers, fruit and verdure! How varied and splendid the beauties of this panorama, at almost each succeeding motion of our boat! How animated the picture by the thousands of light and gilt gondolas which are rapidly sliding along the smooth surface of the



water! I was gazing all around me with delight, when suddenly we turned round the point of Dolma Bahtché, and the whole city of Constantinople presented itself to our view. The effect was striking. Thousands of differently-coloured houses covered the sides of the hills which surround the harbour, among which were interspersed multitudes of elegant minarets, and gilt cupolas signalling the bazars, or Mahometan places of worship. An immense crowd of boats were going backwards and forwards with a velocity which made it wonderful that they could keep clear of each other. Such appeared to be the practice of the boatmen, that in no instance was there a collision. This, I was afterwards informed, and my own experience proved it sufficiently, very rarely happens, though sometimes the Golden Horn\* is covered by an almost uninterrupted moving platform of boats. When we had reached the centre of the harbour, the view around us was truly grand. Completely surrounded by an immense amphitheatre of houses, we were unable to perceive the way by which we had come in.

How great, however, the contrast between the external appearance of Constantinople and its interior! We landed in the district called Top-

\* Name formerly given to it, from its being the emporium of the commerce of the known world.



hanné, or artillery-ground, where the illusion was destroyed not only by the filthy appearance of the narrow ill-paved streets, but by a somewhat abrupt salutation of some scores of half-starved dogs, who seemed to have been trained into a most Mahometan hatred of every thing that bore a Christian look. It was with some difficulty that we succeeded in escaping the dangers of this unfriendly greeting, after which we proceeded slowly through a great number of dark and filthy lanes towards the suburb of Pera, where most of the Europeans reside. On our way, however, we passed by several bazars abundantly supplied with all kinds of wares, by magnificent public fountains, and by an immense number of coffee-houses, where crowds of Turks, squatted on low sofas, were quietly and tacitly smoking their pipes, and sipping coffee out of small cups.

The suburb of Pera, which foreigners of all nations have chosen for their town residence, is situated on an eminence, and is the continuation of several streets leading from the various quays which border the northern side of the harbour of Constantinople. It has altogether a more cleanly appearance than the other districts of the town, and some of its houses partake of the European style of architecture : those of the foreign ambassadors are handsome and spacious buildings ; the



hotel of the British embassy particularly, is a splendid edifice, and so situated as to be visible from every part of the town. It was built when Lord Elgin was English ambassador at the Porte, after the model of his lordship's family seat in Scotland, at the expense of the British government.

We paid several visits in Pera, and were everywhere received with the most unaffected cordiality. French, English, Italians, and Germans appeared all to live here on an intimate footing, as if no national distinctions existed between them. All these Europeans, designated by the Turks by the general appellation of *Franks*, seemed to have agreed that French should be the general language used in their daily intercourse: I was therefore agreeably surprised to find that every body spoke it fluently.

We also visited the place of worship of an association of dervises, called Teckiay, while they were performing their devotions, which chiefly consisted in executing a dance not unlike the German waltz, but more steady in cadence and more rapid in the revolving motion. In a circular hall, the surface of whose floor was remarkably even and smooth, twenty or thirty dervises performed this exercise for a whole hour without once stopping. Other associations, I was told,



are more rigorous in their exactions on the physical powers of the dancers, and their most zealous members have been known to continue this most pernicious kind of exercise until their strength absolutely gave way, and they fell senseless on the floor.

There are in Turkey many convents of dervises, some of which were instituted by the celebrated sheik, Hadgi Bektash, the founder of this order of Mahometan monks. Though rigorously professing Mahometanism, their institution is not acknowledged by Turkish law: they are, notwithstanding, held in great reverence by all classes of their fellow-religionists, whose voluntary and liberal gifts contribute not only to their support, but to their being maintained in profusion and in many of the luxuries of life. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that a mere disposition to idleness should be the incentive of those who choose to adopt this kind of monastic life: such is the rigour maintained in some of the associations as to the length of the dancing exercise, which constitutes the most essential part of their devotions, that nothing less than a religious fanaticism of the most exalted kind could impart to them sufficient fortitude to persevere in the laborious duties they are required to observe. Most of these dervises have a sickly appearance, with



hollow eyes, and an emaciated frame. I have been assured that they seldom reach beyond the age of forty.

The first few days I spent in town were of course employed in excursions, and visits to every place that was worthy of notice. I had heard it affirmed that the ravages committed by the plague before its transmissal to Odessa had been so great as to deprive the capital of nearly half of its population. This, however, I should not have supposed, judging from the crowded state of all the principal streets; and Mr. Gordon, who was frequently with me, assured me that he had not, since his return, missed any of the faces he had been most accustomed to see in the streets.

My curiosity had been particularly excited by the place called the *Porte*, a name which I had always supposed to belong to the abode of the descendants of the caliphs. The *Porte*, however, I found to be the building in which the offices of all the departments of the state are situated, each presided by its respective minister, and the whole superintended by the grand vizier, who, as the deputy of the sultan, is the only medium of communication between the public functionaries and the person of the sovereign. The name is derived from a mode of expression peculiar to the Turks, in designating the house or presence of a



man exercising the highest local authority. To present oneself to a great man's door implies an intention of paying personal respects to him. By the Porte, therefore, is meant the official abode of the highest delegate of the sovereign authority in the capital ; and as it is in the place so called that foreign ambassadors transact their business with the Turkish government, it has become customary to style all foreign agents as accredited to the Porte.

The imperial residence, called the seraglio, situated at a short distance from the Porte, consists of a great number of low detached buildings, none of which are more than two stories high. They are scattered over an immense extent of ground, intermixed with trees and gardens, and occupying the whole identical space on which once stood the city of Byzantium. The walls by which the seraglio is surrounded have been supposed to be those of the ancient city itself. There is reason to believe, however, that these were raised or renewed in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, whose numerous architectural improvements in and about Constantinople many monuments attest to the present day. The outer principal entrance to the seraglio on the street side is a lofty and long gateway, bordered with broad fixed benches, on which numerous gate-keepers



spread their carpets in the hot summer days, enjoying their pipes in the cool and refreshing draught. This entrance leads to a wide open square, on the left of which is situated the mint; facing is a high wall, through which a second gate, as high but not as deep as the first, leads to an inner court, thickly shaded by a number of tall trees symmetrically laid out. This court is surrounded with buildings of various shapes and sizes, all of them of a mean appearance, most of which are used as household offices, and lodgings for such of the attendants of the seraglio as are not allowed to penetrate into the inner apartments. Among them is the great divan-room, or council-chamber, which in appearance and shape may be compared to the Guildhall of London in miniature. In the centre of the open space the pay of the janissaries is always distributed. The days on which this business is to be gone through are always those chosen for public audiences to foreign ambassadors, a practice originating from an ostentatious desire to display “the treasures of the East” before the Christian raggamuffins, who come to be dazzled by the sublime presence of the great Mahometan luminary presiding within these walls. I have been told that the *treasures* exhibited on those occasions amount to some twenty or thirty thousand francs.



The public not being allowed to penetrate any further than the second court of the seraglio, we went back by the same way we had gone in, and proceeded towards the grand mosque formerly the church of St. Sophia. By means of a trifling present to one of the imans we were admitted into one of the galleries, from which we had a full view of the church. Its length from east to west is 270 feet, and its width from north to south 240 feet. The whole pavement is of variegated marble, and the inside of the dome is covered with Mosaic work. This edifice was originally founded by Constantine, and dedicated by him to Divine Wisdom. Some of his successors altered it, and others had to rebuild it entirely, after being destroyed by fire. It was Justinian who gave it that splendour which has made it pass as one of the finest edifices in the world. That emperor is said to have laid out in the remodelling of the church of St. Sophia the revenues of Egypt for twenty years, and caused to be brought from the most distant parts of his vast empire the handsomest marbles to add to its embellishments. Among two ranges of columns which divide the great body of the church, there were eight of porphyry taken from the Temple of the Sun, and as many were sent to Justinian by the magistrates of Ephesus. Some were of verd-antique, the most



beautiful marble in existence. The Mahometan barbarians were not pleased with the natural colour of these magnificent columns. They have therefore caused them to be whitewashed!

From hence we went to the hippodrome, which the Turks have faithfully translated into *at-meï-dan* (the equestrian causeway). In the centre of it stands a magnificent obelisk, of one piece of granite, sixty feet in height, covered with hieroglyphic characters. It was brought here from Egypt under the reign of Theodosius. At a short distance from the obelisk stands a brass column, in the shape of three twisted serpents, the heads of which formerly supported the golden tripod, which the Greeks, after the defeat of Mardonius at Platea, consecrated to Apollo in the temple of Delphos. It is said that the conqueror Mahomet II. struck off the head of one of these serpents with a hatchet at one blow, and that the other two heads were stolen by the servants of a Polish ambassador, sent to Constantinople under the reign of Sobiesky.

Through the interest exerted by a janissary attached to a foreign embassy, who attended us, we obtained permission to visit the bazar, where slaves are exposed for sale. Christians were formerly allowed to purchase female slaves here; but this privilege has been withdrawn, and it is only



the sons of Mahomet who can now traffic in that precious kind of merchandise. The bazar is a spacious yard of a quadrangular form, bordered by a covered gallery. There were several rooms in which the white female slaves were kept. All these were veiled, and their faces were only shown to purchasers. In the middle of the yard were squatted, or rather heaped on one another, some two or three hundred female slaves of colour, a great number of whom were quite naked, and others had hardly a rag about them. It was altogether a most painful sight.

Not very far from the slave-market are to be seen ruins which indicate the former existence of a splendid palace. It is called the palace of Belisarius, and is, I know not precisely on what authority, believed to have been the residence of that celebrated general in his days of glory. It was impossible to view a place which is supposed to have once sheltered so great a man without experiencing some emotion. All the extraordinary events of his life rushed on the mind, and the history of his misfortunes appeared like a fable. For the honour of so upright a man and distinguished a legislator as Justinian, we are bound to believe that if the incidents of the general's fall are not quite fabulous, they have been greatly exaggerated. But if the able pens which have trans-



mitted the particulars of that history to posterity have not swerved from truth, what a lesson have they given to the ambitious of all ages !

On the first Friday after my arrival at Pera I went to see the sultan proceed in state to the mosque, a public ceremony which is prescribed by usage on that day of the week, and which the Ottoman sovereigns, since their establishment in Constantinople, have always kept up. The sultan never goes to the same mosque more than once during the same year, neither does he return to the seraglio by the same way he came out of it. Frequently he rides to the mosque, and returns by water, or *vice versa* ; and if, owing to the situation of the mosque fixed upon, it is necessary both to go and return by water, there are always two state barges in the procession, each used in its turn to carry this demigod of Mahometan adoration. On the occasion on which I witnessed the procession it took place by land. All the streets through which the sultan had to pass had been carefully swept, and were lined by crowds of janissaries, who stood there as a matter of form to greet their sovereign, and by others attracted merely by curiosity. The sultan was mounted on a most magnificent white horse, whose trappings glittered with gold, silver and precious stones. Twenty-four attendants were walking on each



side of him, wearing on their heads a helmet, the thick and ample plumage of which formed a kind of white forest, which almost concealed the person of the sultan from public view. We stood at the window of a shop, and were thus enabled to have a full view of his person. He appeared to be in the prime of life. His countenance was strikingly handsome, though his features did not seem to be all well shaped. His eyes were large, and of a deep black, and his look had something of an imposing kind, not unmixed with an expression of ferocity. His eyebrows and bushy beard formed so striking a contrast with the excessive whiteness of his face and forehead, that one might have supposed paint had been used had such a thing been known among the Turks. The style of his dress was only distinguished from that worn by all the Turks of the higher class by a greater *recherche* in the shape of his turban, and the imperial plume fastened in the front of it with a large clasp set in magnificent diamonds. He had on a very capacious pelisse of green cloth, lined with the most costly black sable; pearl ornaments were sown on each side of the breast in the manner of a hussar's outer jacket. From his waist projected through the black sable borders of his pelisse the handle of a *hangiar*, or dagger, mounted



in beautiful brilliants ; and on his gloveless white hand, in which he held the horse's bridle, rings bearing the most costly brilliants were to be seen.

All the spectators made a low bow on the approach of the sultan, and then held their heads inclined towards the left shoulder until he had gone by. This extraordinary mode of salutation implied that their heads were at the sovereign's command. It is only when he appears in state that it is practised. On other occasions, it is his will that no demonstrations of respect should be made, but by getting out of the way on his approach. I observed that the sultan did not return the salute of his devoted subjects, and seemed quite unconcerned with what was going on around him in the street. I was informed that he is the first sovereign of Turkey who had ventured to set aside the form of courtesy observed towards the people on public occasions. He never forgave the janissaries for having opposed the plans of reform of his uncle Selim, for whom he had entertained the warmest attachment ; and from the moment that circumstances had placed the reins of government in his hands he vowed the destruction of that privileged corps.

The train of events which hastened Sultan



Mahmoud's accession to the throne forms one of the most important and interesting periods of the history of the Ottoman empire. The reader will find a narration of those events in the following chapter. It is made on the authority of the most authentic information.

## CHAPTER VII.



## CHAPTER XII.

An account of the two revolutions which occasioned the dethronement and death of Sultans Selim and Moustapha—Character of the present sultan, Mahmoud—His mother a native of Martinique—His habits of life and activity in business.

IN the year 1789 Sultan Selim III. ascended the Ottoman throne. He was a prince of mild and conciliating manners, with a mind susceptible of being highly cultivated. His natural good sense, and the progress of his experience in public affairs, operated favourably in ridding him of those fanatical notions imbibed by the Turkish princes of the blood, under the superintendence of eunuchs, who, from the period of the princes' childhood to the moment when called to reign, generally were their only instructors. The Ottoman empire had long been in a decayed condition, and Selim, whose penetration enabled him to see the means whereby alone a regeneration might be hoped for, resolved



to do his best to place his country once more on a footing of equality with the first-rate states of Europe.

In the execution of his projects, having that end in view, Selim soon found that he had to contend with difficulties of a very formidable kind. The janissaries had long been linked together by a spirit of resistance towards any thing that bore the semblance of encroachment on their old established privileges ; and this *esprit de corps*, prevalent among the great majority of the population of the empire who belonged to that body, gave them a strength which for a long time set at defiance every possible effort to destroy their preponderance in the system of the empire.

Selim's attention was, from the early part of his reign, directed towards the annihilation of this influential corps, being fully convinced that so long as it existed no hope was to be entertained that his views of regeneration would be attainable. Like Peter the Great and the Strelitzes, he resolved on preparing the work of reform by undermining the great colossus which stood foremost in the way of its execution. The plan adopted by him was that of training by degrees his irregular and turbulent militia into the European system of discipline and tactics, and thus insensibly to raise a powerful army devoted to him through the



means of good pay and proper treatment. With the aid of such a force he was not only sure of causing his power to be respected abroad, but also of enforcing the execution of every measure calculated to promote internal improvement and civilisation.

With the assistance of well-paid foreign officers, some regiments of infantry, artillery, and marines were set on foot. Many converts to his new military system were also made from among those who had appeared at first most adverse to it. But there was one party with whose interests Selim's improvements were still less compatible than with those of the janissaries, and to its counteracting influence the original failure of his plans may be in a great measure ascribed. Napoleon's agents in Turkey sought by every secret means to thwart Selim's views. They succeeded in securing the co-operation of some of the most influential members of the divan, and in exciting the suspicious jealousy of some of the principal leaders among the janissaries. To provoke a war between the Turks and the Russians was a sure mode of destroying the Nizam-gedid in its infancy: other advantages were likely to accrue to Napoleon's policy by such a rupture; so that the most active exertions were used to bring it about. Some recent discussions between Russia and the Porte, in which the former unfortunately assumed



a haughty tone, awakened that feeling of hatred against the Russians to which the Turks are always prone. Such an opportunity was not neglected by the French ambassador, who promised Selim his master's alliance, and encouraged him to look for brilliant results in case of a war. The credulous sultan easily fell into the snare; the Russian ambassador was dismissed, and war was formally proclaimed.

No sooner, however, had preparations been commenced in the capital to carry on the war than the unwillingness of the regular troops to fight under the mode of discipline newly imposed on them began to manifest itself. The janissaries evinced a disposition to assist their brothers in arms to throw it aside. No more than fifteen or twenty thousand regular troops had yet been raised, and the janissaries refused to allow any recruits to be made among themselves. Much time was taken up in discussions, so that the opening of the campaign was intrusted to some pashas who had already obeyed the call of their sovereign, and had repaired to the banks of the Danube with the troops they had levied in haste in their respective districts. Some of the regular soldiers having deserted from their regiments, were seized and instantly shot; but this ill-advised severity, instead of spreading terror among the



disaffected, became the signal of general revolt. All the soldiers abandoned their barracks, and hastened to the parts of the town mostly inhabited by janissaries. The city became a scene of confusion and anarchy, and a vast number of janissaries proceeded *en masse* to the open square before the outward gate of the seraglio, clamorously demanding the immediate abolition of the Nizamgedid, the destruction of the barracks, and the heads of those ministers who had been the chief promoters of the new system of military organisation.

The gates of the seraglio had been barricaded on the approach of the rebels, and every possible means was tried to pacify them, or at least to enable the assailed to gain time. The impetuosity of the Turks is as irresistible when first spurred on by any powerful incentive, as it is short of duration; but while it lasts, it leads to excesses of the most ferocious kind. It was therefore hoped that good words, promises, and delays, would suspend the fury of the populace, and afford time for a compromise of matters; but in this instance every attempt at pacification proved abortive. Sultan Selim finding that his own life was in danger, not only agreed to give up the obnoxious ministers, who had taken refuge in the seraglio, but also abandoned his throne in disgust,



after designing his nephew Moustapha as his successor. Thus tranquillity was restored in the course of two days, and the Nizam-gedid ceased to form part of the system of the empire.

Sultan Moustapha was about twenty-eight years of age when he was thus unexpectedly called to the Ottoman throne. He was of a haughty and violent temper, and eagerly seized every opportunity to remind his subjects of his authority over them. In a hattî-sheriff, or autograph letter which he addressed to the celebrated Ali Pasha of Epirus, soon after his accession to the throne, he commenced by the following preamble, which, be it said *en passant*, could not have been more out of place: "I, who am called to rule the world according to my sovereign will and pleasure, and for whose especial delight you and every thing in it have been created, hereby ordain thee, my trusty slave," &c.

Among the pashas who had repaired to the Danube with their respective corps, to open the campaign against the Russians, was a *parvenu* of the name of Moustapha Baïractar, who, like most of the men in power in Turkey, had risen from the lowest ranks to that of seraskier, or general, and to the station of governor of the district of Roustchiouk. The uncommon boldness of his character had been evinced in a variety of acts of bravery, which reached the knowledge of



the sultan, Selim, who rewarded him by conferring on him the surname of Baïractar\* as a distinction, and a confidential employment near his person. The Turks, with all their faults, have also their good qualities, among which the sentiment of gratitude is perhaps the most conspicuous. That of Moustapha Baïractar increased in proportion with the multiplied favours of his sovereign, and his attachment became unbounded.

Soon after the abdication of Selim Moustapha formed the project of replacing him on the throne. With this view he suddenly quitted the headquarters, and, at the head of twenty thousand Seïmens, upon whom he knew he could rely, he hastened to the capital.

On learning his approach, Sultan Moustapha, rather suspicious of his object, but having no means to oppose him, found that nothing else was to be done but to gain the good-will of the pasha, by raising him at once to the eminent station of grand vizier, or lieutenant-general of the empire. The seraskier immediately accepted a proposal through which he thought his plan would be greatly facilitated, and the shedding of blood avoided. But although he soon gained the reigning sultan's confidence, it was impossible for him to calm the fears of the janissaries, who were taught to believe that the object of his arrival in

\* Standard-bearer.



the capital, and his appointment to the office of vizier, were intended to bring about the re-establishment of the obnoxious Nizam-gedid.

Nine months had elapsed since his arrival in Constantinople, when a want of judgment quite unaccountable in a man possessed of so much experience, induced Moustapha to dismiss the greater part of his troops, on finding that the object of their presence in the capital had been misunderstood by the janissaries, and gave them umbrage. He retained three thousand men to act as his body guards, and sent the remainder to reinforce the garrison of Roustchiouk.

No sooner were these supposed to be far beyond reach than a general assemblage of the janissaries took place, and a body of thirty or forty thousand of them proceeded towards the seraglio, vociferating execrations against the Sultan Moustapha, and calling on Selim once more to ascend the throne. Moustapha resolved at once to render all compliance impossible, and rushing with a few attendants into his uncle's apartment, attacked and overpowered him, and put him to death by strangulation. The body was by his orders immediately conveyed to the outer wall of the seraglio, and was literally thrown over to the multitude, with this inscription attached to its garments: "You ask for the dethroned



Selim : here he is ; the emperor sends him to you." But Sultan Moustapha thought he would make "assurance doubly sure," by getting rid also of the only remaining competitor for the Ottoman throne, his own brother, Mahmoud, who was living in retirement in the Kafass, or nursery allotted to the princes of the blood. In his eagerness to reach his brother's presence Moustapha outstripped his attendants, and rushed into his room, with fury in his looks and an unsheathed dagger in his hand. Mahmoud instantly placed himself in a posture of defence, and the two princes fought several minutes with their daggers, until the younger succeeded in plunging the instrument of death into his brother's heart. No sooner had he lain him dead at his feet than the attendants made their appearance ; but seeing their sovereign deprived of life, they bowed in profound submission to his successor. Mahmoud, however, ignorant of what had befallen his uncle, instantly gave orders that he should be called, and solicited to place himself again on the throne. It is said that when informed of what had happened to Selim, Mahmoud gave way to bitter grief, and it was not without some difficulty that the people about him could make him sensible of the urgency of the circumstances which required his own immediate assumption of the sovereign power. The



gates of the seraglio were then thrown open, an officer of the household loudly explained to the multitude what had occurred, and a herald proclaimed Mahmoud as the rightful successor to the Ottoman throne. This turn of events proved satisfactory to the insurgents, and the crowd soon dispersed from the immediate neighbourhood of the seraglio.

While one division of rebels had directed their march towards the seraglio, another far more numerous proceeded to the palace of the grand-vizier, Moustapha Bâiractar, which they attempted to set on fire. This not having succeeded immediately, efforts were made to batter down the walls and take the palace by storm. So sudden and unforeseen had been the rising of the janisseries, that the vizier was unprepared for any effective defence, and he saw at once that the result must prove fatal to him. But his guards crowded around him, and all resolved to defend themselves to the utmost. A brisk fire with small arms was kept up for several hours, until the assailants, finding that they were making but little progress, brought some pieces of artillery, which gave them at once an irresistible superiority. There was a stone-built tower adjacent to the house, which had been used as a *depôt* for arms and ammunition, and in which were some barrels



of gunpowder : here the vizier was forced to take refuge with his men on finding his enemies gaining ground upon him ; and when no alternative was left him but to surrender and be put to death by his enraged enemies, he preferred depriving them of that satisfaction by setting fire to the gunpowder, and blowing himself, with the tower, the whole of the palace, and every thing within reach into the air.

Thus perished Moustapha Bâiractar : but his fall was avenged by that of thousands of his enemies. It is said that the carnage which took place in this memorable conflict had been so great, as to take up three days' incessant labour for the removal and burial of the dead. The number of wounded was immense.

It is worthy of remark, that during the continuance of the disturbances, both on this occasion and on the dethronement of Selim, public criers were sent to Pera and the other districts inhabited by Christians, requesting them to remain free from any fear of being molested, and giving them to understand that the quarrel was one among Mahometans, in which others could not be supposed to have any concern.

Mahmoud was the last *rejeton* of the imperial race, the extinction of which the janissaries seemed to dread as an event from which national



disunion was sure to ensue. The first time he showed himself in public wounds were still visible in his face, and bore ample testimony of the desperate conflict from which he had come off triumphant. His age was then (1808) about twenty-four; and a vast concourse of people collected in the streets to greet the youthful monarch. But his refusal to return the salute of the janisseries, till then unprecedented, and a stern expression in his feature, betrayed a haughtiness of temper which repressed the popular feeling in his favour, and made it doubtful whether any thing had been gained by his accession to the throne.

The most remarkable among the early acts of his government was one of unparalleled cruelty. The Sultan Selim's women had been suspected of aiding in his murder, or at least of having used no exertion to save his life. Whether this suspicion had or had not any just foundation is a point which must for ever remain undecided. At all events, it appears impossible that they should all have conspired against his life; yet all were made responsible for his death. Most of them were young and beautiful; but no consideration of that kind could affect their doom, nor even obtain a less terrific mode of execution than by being each of them, to the number of three hundred, tied up in a sack, and thrown into the sea! One



morning at day-break they were embarked in several barges from the quays of the seraglio, and under a strong escort of eunuchs, and other guards following at some distance, they were conveyed to the back of Prince's Island, a distance of fifteen miles from Constantinople, where the sentence pronounced against them was deliberately and rigidly executed ! A person who happened to be on a shooting excursion in that part of the Prince's Island, related to a friend of mine the particulars of the horrid scene he had witnessed. The poor victims rent the air with their screams. Some made a desperate resistance, while others broke loose from the hands of the eunuchs and threw themselves into the sea to avoid the horror of being tied up in a bag. A few among these were able to swim, and in their efforts to gain the land they were pursued and overtaken by the guard boats, and killed by being beaten on the head with the boatmen's cars !

Sultan Mahmoud's mother was the daughter of a French merchant of Martinique, who, at the age of thirteen, was embarked for Marseilles in order to complete her education there. Near the Gulf of Lyons the vessel fell in with an Algerine pirate, which carried her into Algiers, where the young Creole was immediately taken before the dey. Her extreme beauty appeared



to make her a fit present for the sultan; and not many weeks after, instead of being immured within the walls of a convent in France, she was an inmate of the sultan's seraglio in Constantinople. The sultan condescended to honour the young Creole with his especial notice, and in the course of time a young prince gave living evidence of his imperial condescension. This was Mahmoud, who so endeared her to the life of the seraglio, that she subsequently declined availing herself of opportunities of making her escape, which her indefatigable friends, who had succeeded in tracing her to the imperial palace of Constantinople had put in her way.

Notwithstanding her extreme youth at the period when she was severed from all intercourse with her friends, not only did she retain the knowledge of the French language during the remainder of her life, but also other advantages of civilised society, which placed her far above the crowd of female inmates of the seraglio. Her son became the only object of her thoughts and cares; and as he grew up she did her best to prepare him for those important duties which were likely one day to devolve on him: in this she was powerfully seconded by Selim, who had conceived a particular affection for the young prince, and is



known to have taken great trouble in forming his mind.

Since the commencement of Mahmoud's reign the salutary influence of his mother's councils became in many respects apparent. According to the Turkish laws, she is exempted from the restrictions imposed on the remainder of her sex. As the reigning sultan's mother, not only may she appear in public unveiled, but she may also exercise a direct influence in the affairs of state, and take a part in the deliberations of the divan, or cabinet council, through the person of her own chancellor, called *validay-kiayassi*, who has a seat in the cabinet.

But Mahmoud is of too haughty and fiery a temper to have suffered at all times his mother to have any great controul over his actions. He had adopted all the views of Selim ; and his mind was so wholly bent upon the means of putting them in practice, that no sacrifice of money or life was deemed by him of the slightest moment whenever a step was to be made towards their accomplishment. Hence the hatred he has evinced towards the janissaries from the very first moment that he publicly appeared among them. The circumstance of his being the last of the imperial race gave him a firmness on the throne which few of his prede-



cessors have enjoyed, and this he has resolved to draw the utmost advantage from by waging a war of extermination against the janissaries. The number of them whom he has secretly caused to be put to death is immense. If the waters of the Bosphorus were, by some miraculous operation, to be suddenly withdrawn, the heaps of human bones with which Mahmoud is said to have covered their bed, if not already carried away by the current, would fill one with horror and amazement.

In his manner of living Sultan Mahmoud is said not to outstep the bounds of moderation. He is frequently on horseback, and is very fond of aquatic excursions. He has raised a barrier between himself and his subjects which renders impracticable all kind of intercourse with him but through the medium of two or three official or favoured individuals; and he is only accessible on Fridays whilst going in state to the mosque. On those occasions petitions may be presented to him by persons of every description. They are received by the chief of his eunuchs (who also acts as minister of the household department), and it seldom happens that he reads any of them. But when he does so, and he is struck with the injustice of any case complained of, he is quick in granting redress. He takes an essential part in public affairs, and often



descends so far into trifling details which relate to the administration of the empire, that many things are frequently done by him without the participation or even knowledge of the ministers or officers to whose departments they more immediately belong. A recent occurrence was related to me when I was at Constantinople as a proof of this. Some months previously he had exiled his vizier to Cyprus. Upon further consideration of the culprit's offence (which probably originated in the sultan's fancy alone) this punishment appeared too lenient. But wishing to spare the feelings (!) of one of his ministers, who was the disgraced vizier's relative and friend, and through whose department a more severe sentence was to be forwarded ; or perhaps with the view of preventing all possibility of the intended victim's receiving previous intimation of the fate which awaited him, Mahmoud wrote a firman with his own hand, forged in it the signatures of the actual vizier and the other ministers by whom similar mandates are usually signed, and despatched it by one of his *capigees* to the governor of Cyprus. The firman commanded the governor to take off the head of the poor exiled vizier, and send it by the bearer to Constantinople. This being done, the *capigee* sailed with his charge for Satalia, where he landed to proceed by land to the capital.



By a sea conveyance, however, the governor of Cyprus had addressed a duplicate report of his proceeding to the Porte, and this being received before the return of the *capigee*, threw all the ministers into consternation. They concluded that the governor's act had arisen from some error ; but the fear of being made answerable for it placed them in a very embarrassing situation. It was resolved, however, that the grand-vizier should forthwith repair to the imperial presence, and give an account of what had taken place. He did so with a faltering step and trembling voice ; and great was his relief on finding that the sultan expressed neither anger nor surprise at what had taken place.



## CHAPTER XIII.

Present condition of the Turks as a nation—Mahmoud's intended reforms—Errors of his policy—Their destructive results—The Mahometan religion—Superstition of the Turks—Revenue of the government—National currency—Matrimonial laws—Description of a marriage fête.

THE fate of the Turks, as a nation, appears irrevocably fixed, in spite of the utmost exertions that the sultan is capable of using to bring about those reforms which he had been taught by his uncle Selim to consider as alone conducive to national greatness. They have remained too far behind the other nations of Europe in point of civilisation to stand now the least chance of coming up to their level. To regain that power which they have relinquished by their voluntary retrogradation, not only is it requisite that they should have the good fortune of having at their head an



able and enlightened man, but also that they should become sensible of the necessity of being led by such a man. Experience, however, has shown that their aversion for any order of things differing from that in which their minds have taken their mould is deep rooted and incurable, so that no rational efforts would curb their turbulent spirit, nor coercive means under any ruler of their own be endured with sufficient patience for any length of time.

The very spirit of Mahometanism is opposed to the progress of civilisation among the Turks. Its founder has proscribed all knowledge of books excepting that of the koran. The precepts taught by the latter are so excessively intolerant, that it is impossible the minds of its believers should not become imbued with a fanaticism which makes them obstinately inaccessible to the lights of civilisation.

It is possible that time and extraordinary events may remove the great moral impediments which at present stand in the way of improvement among the Turks ; but unless they pass under the dominion of a Christian state, centuries must elapse before they are fit to hold a rank of equality with the other nations of Europe.

Mahmoud appears really ambitious of re-establishing the tottering power of his empire ; but he



is himself, after all, but a barbarian, who seeks to acquire strength by devoting to extermination immense numbers of his subjects by whom he thinks his will would be opposed. It is impossible to say whether the ferocity of his character is more greatly evinced by the numberless cold-blooded murders committed among his guiltless subjects, than is the execrable stupidity of his policy in depopulating his empire under the notion of giving it strength. Almost every other act of his administration proves how unfit he is to pass as an useful reformer in the annals of his country. He has destroyed the few remains of feudalism which he found still existing in some parts on his accession to the throne ; but after abolishing the peaceable and paternal authority of the *dérébeyes*, in some of the most extensive and important provinces, instead of substituting for it a mode of government calculated to secure to himself the respect and attachment so long devolving on the hereditary feudal princes, he has raised each province into a *pashalic*, or military government, where his own three-tailed mercenary delegates are sent to rule with an iron hand, draining the land of all its resources, oppressing the cultivators by the most revolting extortions, and keeping each population in a state of dread and agitation totally destructive of those industrious habits



under which they had previously flourished, and which had from time almost immemorial steadily contributed to maintain the chief government, and to perpetuate the solidity of its foundation.

By an intemperate eagerness to render every part of his dominions irresistibly subservient to his insatiable wants and rapacious propensities, he has involved the whole of his empire into perpetual trouble and confusion, every where breeding turbulence and discontent, and drying up every fair and regular source of revenue. He has established a system of monopoly by which he exercises the exclusive right of buying and selling grain at his own prices. The land cultivator's labour has therefore every where ceased to have an incitement, and his industry has been paralysed. The taxes on lands have been raised, not in proportion to their value, but to the frequency of the sultan's calls on his pashas for supplies of money ; and the irregularity as well as brutal mode of collecting them having thrown the peasant and farmer out of their habitual avocations, have produced poverty and famine ; and a material diminution in the growing of the most important productions which had so long enriched Turkey, by making it a general market for the commerce of the world.



Turkey possesses no available mines, so that it is supplied with gold and silver from abroad. It is therefore of the highest importance to its interests that it should give in return for the precious metals the local productions of the soil. When these fall considerably under the proportion of the required metal, the country is necessarily placed at the mercy of the foreign importer, and the balance of trade must go against it. But the reforming sultan condescends not to trouble his mind with similar details and calculations. He must have money when he wants it; and as to the ruin entailed on the empire by any violent means employed in obtaining it, he goes on flattering himself that it will not fail to be remedied so soon as he has annihilated the janissaries, and made each of his remaining subjects the passive tool of his despotic will! Meanwhile the country is incessantly drained of its currency, and the imperial treasury experiences every year a diminution in its regular revenue. Expedients are then resorted to: a new coin is put into circulation of the same description and nominal value as that which has preceded it, but considerably lessened in intrinsic worth. The old coin becoming obsolete, is withdrawn from circulation, partly by the mint, and partly by the foreign merchants who make returns with it for foreign merchandise as bullion. It is



melted down in Europe, and not unfrequently comes back in ingots to be disposed of again to the sultan. In 1812 a Turkish piastre was equal to a French franc; it has now about one-fourth of a franc's value.

So strange is the fatality which seems to attend the fate of this misguided government, that one would be led to think it has an interest in working for its own destruction; and such must continue to be the case so long as the passions of one individual are to be acted upon without the slightest reference to the general good, and violence and destruction constitute the mode by which the ruler seeks to increase his power and insure his own future aggrandisement.

The decline of the Ottoman empire has for some years been rapid. If it has not yet led to a change of masters, it is not because it possesses means of successful defence against any foreign attack. A most strange combination of political considerations may long continue to support it; but to Sultan Mahmoud the glory of renewing its foundations will surely never belong.

The religious duties imposed by the koran on the "true believers" consist more particularly in a daily recourse to prayer, frequent ablutions, and fasting at certain periods of the year. A genuine Mahometan therefore prays every day at day-



break and at sunset; and if he is not within reach of a regular house of prayer, he kneels down at any place where he may happen to find himself, and is soon absorbed in his religious meditations. He does not omit washing his face, hands, and feet each time that he prepares for these ordinary devotions. I have frequently seen Turks on the quays of the Bosphorus, in public places of amusement, with all kinds of mirth going on around them, and on highways, kneel down and perform their devotions, as regardless of the public gaze and every thing calculated to divert attention, as if they were in the remotest corner of a mosque. Their fasts are very different from those of Christians. At two different periods of the year their Lent, called *Ramazán*, occurs. It lasts a month each time, during which no kind of food or beverage is tasted from the time of rising in the morning until sunset, after which they are at liberty to eat and drink (always excepting wine) of whatever they please. The rigour with which the Turks observe this severe mode of fasting shows, perhaps, more than any other demonstration, their tenacious and superstitious adherence to their religion. No deviations are permitted on any consideration whatever, and a Turk in a weak state of health would sooner sink under the exhaustion produced by the too



long privation of every kind of refreshment, than violate the religious law. What they feel the most, during the *Ramazan*, is the absence of their pipe. Half of their existence would seem to depend on smoking : from the moment of their rising to that of going to bed the pipe is hardly ten minutes at a time out of their mouths ; but when fasting, they are obliged to deprive themselves of it until the lawful hour has arrived.

There are many laws established by the koran of a salutary tendency, and that of abstaining from the use of wine, if too rigorous as regards the natives of the more northern regions, was certainly a wholesome provision for the people living under the meridian where it was made. Under the burning sun of Arabia wine is a stimulant which acts with too much power on the constitution. But it is evident that no other kind of fermented liquor was known to the rigid proscriber of the vinous juice ; therefore his followers, abiding by the letter instead of the spirit of his law, indulge without restraint in all the modern beverages which may pass as substitutes for wine. Rum has become more in use of late years among the Turks than any other spirituous liquor ; and at the time that I visited Turkey English porter was beginning to be a good deal in request, especially among the rich.



There is hardly a Turk who does not wear a talisman, to which he attaches some particular virtue capable of propitiating him in the sight of Heaven. This kind of superstition is carried to such an extent, that even the sultan's state-barge is not considered free from danger without a bunch of garlic being tied round the sharp point of its head ! The sacred word Mash-Allah, (God's gift,) written in large letters on the most conspicuous part of every public and private edifice is considered as converting into a beneficent tendency every evil wish which envy might suggest.

According to calculations founded on the most authentic information I was able to collect, the regular revenue of the imperial treasury does not quite amount to one hundred millions of piasters. It is derived from a land-tax, called miri, the custom-house impost, and the haratch, or capitation tax, exacted on the Christian portion of the sultan's subjects, called rayas. This income is quite independent of the private treasury of the sultan, which is replenished from a variety of indirect and irregular sources, such as voluntary donations, presents from the great of the empire, and all kinds of violent extortion on the devoted rayas.

The circulation medium is confined to coin



made of the precious metals. That of gold undergoes frequent changes in value and denomination ; but the piastre, which is of silver, though repeatedly deteriorated in intrinsic worth, is always equal to forty paras, another coin of a very small size, likewise subject to deteriorations. It is on the relative worth of the piastre that the foreign rates of exchange are regulated. Although the Turkish government has frequently recourse to the desperate and fraudulent expedient of lessening the weight of the coinage while its nominal value remains the same, no alloy has ever been mixed up with that of gold, which, therefore, is of the purest metal. No attempt has ever been made to put paper into circulation in Turkey. In a country where the chief ruler may violate with impunity every engagement entered into with those who are not better than his slaves, a paper circulation would stand but little chance of gaining any credit. There are, indeed, such things as treasury bonds occasionally issued on some nominal acknowledgment of a debt of the government ; but as it seldom happens that any value is given for their redemption, they generally stand at a discount of 95 per cent.

A mistaken notion has long been entertained in Europe that the followers of Mahomet are allowed a plurality of wives. The real fact is, that



although a Turk may have as many concubines as he chooses to maintain, the nuptial ceremony cannot be legally performed a second time if both parties are living, unless a divorce has been obtained by mutual consent. With regard to the matrimonial engagements, the koran prescribes the mode in which they must be contracted, and points out the cases in which they may be broken; but it is not required that the marriage ceremony should take place through any other religious form than merely that of appearing before the mollah, or koran expounder of the parish, and pronouncing the connubial vow in his presence. The mollah then gives the parties a *teskéré*, or certificate, to serve in any future case of need. When a Turk feels disposed to get married he communicates his wishes to his mother, or any other near female relative, to whom he gives a description of the kind of woman whom he would wish to make his wife. The lady applied to then sallies forth, accompanied by a host of female friends, to visit every house in the neighbourhood where young unmarried women are likely to be met with. Those who appear to answer the purpose undergo a thorough examination: their hair is regularly combed, to see that it is all their own: their mouths are opened, that it may be seen whether the teeth therein contained are the legi-



timate property of the jaws on which they appear: almost every part of the body is viewed, to ascertain whether it is not disfigured by any deformity: and finally, they are made to walk up and down the room, to show that they are exempt from lameness. After these examinations a faithful report is made to the proper quarter: the choice is fixed upon immediately, and the same messengers are sent back to make formal proposals. The special bearer of the commission appears shod with slippers of two different colors; and this outward mark indicates at once the errand on which she has come. The other preliminaries are then speedily adjusted, and the nuptial day fixed.

The women in these cases possess an advantage which the men have not; they can see their intended husbands before marriage; but the men are unable to set their eyes on any part of the features, excepting the eyes, of her who is proposed to their choice. The women are always bound to conceal their faces from the gaze of the men. To do otherwise would be a punishable breach of female modesty: and so accustomed are the men to the notion of extreme impropriety being attached to a display of the female features, that they would much rather take a wife without ever having seen her face, than one who has been



guilty of the crime of showing that hers is worth the homage of the other sex.

I cannot better describe a marriage feast than in the words of a friend of mine, who was present at one of some consequence in Constantinople :

“ I was invited by the haratshee-bashee, or capitation tax-gatherer, to attend the nuptials of his daughter. The feastings and rejoicings were to be conducted on a scale of unusual splendour, and to be continued three successive days. I found the extensive court-yard in front of the house filled with a crowd of common people, in the midst of whom were squatted on the bare ground three Turkish musicians. One of them was exerting all the power of his lungs to force out of a squeaking hautboy certain goose-like notes, which were intended as a leading melody. His next neighbour was beating an accompaniment on an enormous drum, and the third had before him on the ground two very small kettle-drums, which he struck methodically with short sticks, as if to mark the time for the other two, and also serve as an accompaniment. Every part of the house was crowded with male visitors of all ranks, who made a very splendid display of rich clothes and costly ornaments.

“ It was with the utmost difficulty that I succeeded in making my way to the upper end of the



principal apartment, in one corner of which sat the bride on a velvet-covered sofa, nearly level with the floor. Her face, though without a veil, was completely concealed under a thick paste, the surface of which was painted in a variety of light colours. This kind of mask kept her eyes and mouth hermetically closed. As a friend of the house, I brought my present, consisting of a diamond ring and a large gold coin called a mahmoodiay. The former I placed on the bride's little finger, and the latter I endeavoured to fasten in the front of her head-dress ; but, like many others which had preceded mine, it fell into her lap. The principal garment of the bride was an ample robe made of rich gold tissue. Her fingers were literally covered up to the nails with diamond rings. On her head-dress were heaps of diamond ornaments, some of which were her own, and others borrowed for the occasion. She wore round her neck some very rich pearl necklaces, joined with diamond clasps, and her long black hair hung in manifold tresses on her shoulders and back, intermingled with a profusion of gold tinsel. In this condition, exposed to the excessive heat of the weather and of the crowded room, and having to endure all the torments of excessive thirst and hunger, was this poor creature to remain during two whole days, unattended by any one of her



sex excepting at night. At the close of the second day the mask of paste was to be taken off; on the third she was to undergo the customary ceremonious purification at the vapour bath, and on the morning of the fourth the bridegroom was left at liberty to enter into his connubial rights. These ceremonies are always observed in Turkey on the occasion of a marriage, and only differ in point of splendour according to the condition and wealth of the parties."



## CHAPTER XIV.

Departure for Smyrna—Asia Minor—Arrival at Smyrna—Account of that place—Insurrection of the Turkish populace against the European residents—The governor—Game of gerid—Voyage from Smyrna to Constantinople—The Dardanelles—Account of the fortifications which defend that passage.

I SPENT the whole winter of 1812-13 at Constantinople, during which I never saw any snow, though I was assured that this was an unusual occurrence, and that falls of snow are by no means uncommon in that climate. The cold season, however, is never long nor rigorous, and a great number of very fine days occur in January and February. My time was passed chiefly among the European residents of Pera, Bouyoukdéré, and Therapia. In speaking of Europeans, I allude to the natives or subjects of the Christian states of Europe, it being customary among them



to consider the Turks as an Asiatic race, though by the Turks, as I have said before, they are designated by the general appellation of Franks.

These European residents enjoy a great extent of civil liberty throughout Turkey, being entirely independent of Turkish authority, and in every case amenable only to that of the acknowledged representatives of their own respective governments. The enjoyment of so important a privilege, secured to foreigners in a country where despotism rules with an unbounded sway, is a species of phenomenon which deserves to be explained. At the period when foreign nations found it necessary to regulate their intercourse with the Turks by written stipulations called treaties it was deemed essential that the lives and properties of the individuals trading in Turkey should be secured against the violence and lawless rapacity of the Turks. This could not be done effectually without depriving them entirely of jurisdiction over foreign subjects. At that period the arts of diplomacy were still less understood among the Turks than at present, and as they were only tenacious of certain observances in the reception of the foreign ambassadors at the Porte, which, in their view, implied the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the sultan over the crowned heads of all Europe, every concession which tended merely to flatter



their vanity was readily made, and every substantial and desirable advantage was obtained in return. The French were the first Christian nation who entered into a regular treaty with the Turks. Hence the general denomination of Franks which has been given to all European foreigners in Turkey. Other nations soon followed their example, and the same privileges were extended to all ; and when we consider that the system of government in Turkey and the ferocious character of its Mahometan inhabitants have undergone no such modifications as would entitle them to greater confidence now than formerly, it must be confessed that the time has not yet come when the lives and liberties of foreigners might be intrusted to their discretion and mode of dispensing justice.

The unexpected turn that political affairs had taken in the north of Europe at the close of the winter of 1813 made me desirous of drawing closer to my native land ; and as Vienna was once more opened to those who had incurred the displeasure of the revolutionary governments of France, I made up my mind to repair to that capital, there to await the catastrophe of the great drama of which the European continent had been so long the scene. Before quitting Turkey, however, I was anxious to visit Smyrna, one of the principal cities of the empire, the road to which I was



assured afforded one of the most delightful rides that could be imagined. The distance from Constantinople to Smyrna is only about one hundred and fifty miles, and the journey is performed on horseback, no other mode of travelling being known in Asia Minor.

Having provided myself with a great number of letters of introduction to the principal European residents in Smyrna, I set out at the beginning of April for that city, attended by a janissary, or guard, attached to the Danish legation. We crossed the Hellespont in an open boat, and were landed at a place called Mohalitsh, on the Asiatic shore. Horses were here provided for us, and we proceeded on our journey at a slow pace. Spring was already far advanced in Asia Minor, denominated with great truth the garden of the world. The peculiar beauty and variety of the scenery with which that part of Turkey abounds, the perfection of its regular and temperate climate, and the richness and fertility of its soil, all combine in forming a species of terrestrial paradise of that country, to which the polishing hand of civilisation is alone wanting. A week's easy and delightful travelling brought us to Smyrna, the capital of Asia Minor, situated not far from the spot which gave birth to Homer.

Smyrna has become a place of the first impor-



tance to the mercantile world. The convenient anchorage of its spacious bay, and the facility of its communications with the remotest parts of Asia, have made it the general mart of home productions, and of those of every other part of the world. Its population, including the Franks, is computed at 200,000. For a long series of years it has been governed by a moussellim, or civil governor, a municipal council composed of eight ayans, or magistrates, and a mollah, or koran expounder and clerical judge. The mercantile and industrious habits of the Smyrneans, and their frequent intercourse with Europeans of all nations, have given a greater polish to their manners, and a readier disposition to good-fellowship with strangers, than are to be found among the Turks of other parts. A great number of idle adventurers, however, repair thither from the interior of Asia Minor, and the island of Candia, in search of means of livelihood, whose dispositions are of a far less settled kind than those of the native Turks, and through whose turbulence the public peace has frequently been disturbed. Some years ago they were excited to acts of violence by which many lives were lost, and the Frank part of the town was reduced to ashes. The provocation given, however, was not quite unjustifiable, as will be seen from the following



account of the occurrence, the particulars of which I had from some of the European inhabitants of the place.

A strolling company of Italian rope-dancers had come to exhibit in Smyrna, and had hired for that purpose an open space, which they caused to be inclosed by palissades. At the principal entrance of this inclosure some Turkish janissaries were stationed to preserve order among the persons desirous of obtaining admission, especially among the Turkish rabble, who, not being used to preliminary payment for the privilege of witnessing *spectacles* of this kind, might have forced their way into the place without complying with the required terms. Among these, however, the most perfect order was preserved; but the European visitors themselves were not all equally disposed to peace. Some sailors belonging to an Ionian vessel, bearing Venetian colours, insisted upon being admitted free of payment. They became clamorous, and in an attempt to get over the palings they were beaten off by the Turkish janissaries. They immediately repaired to their vessels, armed themselves with pistols and cutlasses, returned to the spot, and commenced an attack on the persons from whom they had experienced the repulse, by which one of the Turkish janissaries was killed, and several other people



were seriously wounded. After performing this valorous exploit, they again withdrew to their ships. Meanwhile the spectators within the inclosure were thrown into the greatest confusion. The Turks, on hearing what had happened, all rushed out in pursuit of the assailants, and many acts of violence took place in the streets. But the aggressors had escaped the vengeance of the pursuers, whose rage remained unappeased. The news of this outrage was soon spread throughout the town, meetings among the populace immediately took place, and it was resolved that the man who had been guilty of the murder of the janissary should be demanded of the consul of his nation, to receive the punishment of death. On the following day upwards of five thousand armed Turks proceeded *en masse* to the residence of the moussellim, and loudly called for his interference in obtaining the immediate surrender of the Ionian criminal. The Venetian consul was of course officially applied to: but that functionary, fearful of creating a precedent by which the privileges secured to his nation by treaty might be compromised, refused to exert his authority in arresting the assassin, and giving him up to the hands of Turkish justice. In order to gain time, however, and appease the fury of the Turkish populace, the consul proposed that the disposal of the



business should be referred to the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople; and the Turkish government meanwhile engaging to detain the man in Smyrna until his fate should have been decided by the higher powers. This proposal did not satisfy the populace, who sent deputations to all the foreign consuls to say, that if they did not prevail on their Venetian colleague to comply with the just demand which had been made, all the Franks should be put to the sword, and their houses set on fire. The Venetian consul, however, could not be persuaded that this threat would be put into execution, and remained obstinate in his refusal. Matters, however, were becoming very serious, and all the Europeans embarked their families in the foreign merchant vessels in the harbour. Unluckily no foreign ships of war happened to be there at that moment: the presence of one might have overawed the populace, and prevented the excesses to which their fury instigated them. After a fruitless negotiation of two or three days, the Frank part of the town was assailed by thousands of armed Turks, who began their acts of violence by setting fire to the house of the Venetian consul, which was soon burnt to the ground. It had been evacuated by its inmates, however, on the preceding night; and all the neighbouring houses



having also been left empty, the fire soon spread to a frightful extent. It raged for three days and nights, until it found no more materials to consume. During this time parties of Slavonian and Ionian sailors, armed with blunderbusses, muskets, and pistols, frequently landed and attacked the Turks in the streets, over whom they invariably gained the advantage, until they fairly drove them back into their own parts of the town, and compelled them to desist from further acts of hostility. Tranquillity therefore was re-established, and the refugees on board of the vessels in the harbour gradually ventured on shore. Most of them possessed country-houses, to which they repaired, and in the course of a year or two the whole Frank quarter was restored to its former condition. I have been assured that the excesses committed by the populace on that occasion were loudly condemned by all Turks of any respectability, who not only used every effort to prevent them, but, when they found it impossible to preserve the public peace, gave secret warning to all their Frank acquaintances of what was likely to take place, offering their own houses to them for refuge during the time of danger, and treating with the utmost kindness and hospitality all those who availed themselves of their protection.



It is a fact not less positive for its appearing perhaps incredible to those who have had no ocular demonstration of it, that the existence of the most perfect model of a republic is to be traced in the midst of a country where despotism is exercised with the most unbounded sway. This republic is composed of the Europeans who have colonised a portion of the city of Smyrna, where they occupy a town almost exclusively their own, in which the flags of all the maritime powers of Europe daily flow, as if to assert a jurisdiction distinct from that of the lawful possessors of the land. Independent of Turkish laws and local authorities, they are exempted from all kinds of taxes and imposts ; and even the landed property owned by themselves is allowed to partake of exclusive privileges. Amenable to no judicial tribunals but those of the consuls of their respective nations, through the official channel of these alone have they to answer the claims of native subjects and the grievances of Turkish magistrates. Their children, and farther descendants, born in Turkey, are not on that account considered as bound to any allegiance to the sultan, so long as they do not embrace Mahometanism, or consent to pay the haratsh, or capitation-tax. A great number of French, Dutch, English, Italian and German merchants have long been established residents in



Smyrna. They have constituted themselves into factories, under the sanction of their respective governments, presided by their consuls, having their own public notaries, treasurers, chaplains, chapels, hospitals, and burying-grounds; and many among them possess freehold estates in lands, houses, and other buildings. Their male children are almost invariably sent to their fathers' native countries to receive the benefits of national education, and most of them return to Smyrna to devote themselves to commerce. As among the Franks in Constantinople, the language universally adopted is the French; but all are brought up in the habit of speaking Italian, English, Greek, and Turkish, besides. Their manners and customs partake of those of every European country, with a mixture of what is most suitable in those of the Turks. Their spacious and commodious houses are fitted up on the same principle. During the winter season dinners, musical *soirées*, card-parties, balls, and private theatricals, compose their amusements. I was introduced to a casino, or club-house, fitted up on a splendid scale, the members of which, composed of the most respectable Franks of the place, resorted to it of an evening, to read the daily papers from all parts of Europe, to play at whist or billiards, or to



pass the time in conversation. Here I soon became acquainted with all the consuls and principal merchants, who invited me to their houses, and showed me every kind of civility.

The manner of living of the Turks in this place is precisely similar to what it is at Constantinople and in other parts of Turkey. It is rather difficult to gain access to their houses ; not that they feel any scruple of admitting strangers within their gates, but because all their customs are entirely opposed to social intercourse. One individual, however, seemed disposed to shake off that apathy which generally prevails among his countrymen, and being no less a person than the governor of the place, it might have been expected that his example would have become beneficial to others ; but if any good was to accrue, it had not yet become visible at the time that I had the pleasure of forming his acquaintance. This personage, whose name is Kiatib-Oglou,\* I met at a ball given by Mr. Wilkinson, the Swedish consul-general, who introduced me to him. He was a remarkably handsome man, with a good-natured countenance, and much

\* He was put to death by order of the sultan, in 1817, for having become too popular !



dignity and ease of manner. He conversed with the ladies in the room with the European tone of good breeding, and appeared desirous of rendering his presence agreeable to all present. A supper-table had been prepared for him in a private room, to which only a few of his most intimate friends were admitted. Mr. Wilkinson informed me that this was done because the governor was very partial to a bottle of good wine, of which Mahometan decorum prevented his partaking in public. I was, however, admitted to this table, and had in fact abundant evidence of the governor's partiality to the forbidden beverage. He invited me to his country-house, to see the game of gerid performed by his guards in which he not unfrequently took a part. A very numerous party of Europeans accompanied me thither. We were received in a species of summer-house, called a kiosk, commanding a view over an extensive plain, on which a great number of Turkish horsemen were assembled. Each was mounted on a magnificent horse, and was armed with a long white stave. At a signal given, they all set off at full gallop, and commenced throwing their staves at each other. For some time sticks were flying about in all directions, and horsemen were at full speed in



pursuit of one another. I was surprised to see the dexterity with which each horseman managed to parry every blow, sometimes with his own stave, and at others by suddenly lowering his body and getting the upper part of it almost under the belly of his horse when going at a smart rate. By a kind of hook, fixed to the saddle, a stave was picked up from the ground without the necessity of alighting for that purpose, or the loss of a moment's time. While the gerid was going on, sweetmeats, coffee, and pipes were served to the spectators in the governor's kiosk, and the whole was closed with a sumptuous repast, prepared in a beautiful garden according to the Turkish style; that is, exclusive of such commodities as knives and forks.

A month's stay at Smyrna was, under existing circumstances, sufficient to satisfy my curiosity regarding that place, and at the beginning of May I took my passage on board of an Austrian vessel which was bound to Constantinople. I found the channel of the Dardanelles to resemble in many respects that of the Bosphorus; but it is wider, and considerably longer. The fortifications on each side of its entrance are of the most formidable kind, and in the hands of European soldiers must render that passage absolutely impracticable



to an enemy's naval force. But the Turks have not the least notion of managing artillery; therefore it is not at all surprising that an English fleet twice forced its way through this narrow channel, without experiencing any damage but that which occurred to the Windsor Castle ship of the line, which was accidentally struck by a stone ball weighing 800lbs. It had the effect of raising up the quarter-deck of the vessel, and about twenty persons were severely hurt, but I believe none were killed. The cannon from which that immense ball was fired is made of brass, and, with four other similar ones, stands on the ground-tier of guns of the first fortress on the Asiatic side. It was never fired before this occasion; and I have been told that the damage done by the great explosion to the fortress, and the crowd who worked it, was infinitely greater than that which was experienced by the ship at which it was levelled.

It was from this fortress to the European one opposite that an iron chain had been drawn across the channel, on the approach of the English ships, under the full impression of effectually securing the passage against them. But, to the great astonishment of the Turks, the admiral's ship which led the way, hardly touched the chain



when it broke, and the whole fleet proceeded without having experienced the least stoppage.

Four days after setting sail from Smyrna I arrived once more before the Ottoman capital.



## CHAPTER XV.

Departure from Constantinople—Voyage in an open boat to Varna, in the Black Sea—Some account of the coast—Ignada and Sizopoli—Varna—Journey from that place to the Danube—Silistria—Salick Pasha, its governor—Calarash—Mode of travelling post in Wallachia—Arrival at Bukorest.

ON consulting some experienced travellers, after my return to Constantinople, respecting the best mode of proceeding to Vienna, it appeared to me that the road by Bukorest and Hermanstadt, though not the shortest, was unquestionably the most eligible where no haste was required. There was, however, no mode of reaching the banks of the Danube but on horseback, unless I chose to embark for Varna, in the Black Sea, from whence the distance to the banks of that river is short, and the travelling more commodious. This route I was induced to fix upon, and having hired an open boat called a dort-chifté, manned by four young



Greeks, I embarked on a fine moonlight night at Bouyoukdéré, after spending the preceding day and evening in taking leave of the numerous acquaintances I had formed among the residents of that place.

We soon reached the entrance of the Black Sea, where our boat was hauled close to the shore, until daylight should determine on the most advisable mode of regulating our proceedings. Not a breath of air announced itself at dawn, and the use of our oars was required to bring us up to the bay of Domouz-Déré, from whence, assisted alternately by a light passing breeze, we went on, always keeping within a mile or two from the land. In so small a vessel, it was of course out of the question to be out at sea all night; and having, towards sunset, reached a place called Midia, which a few miserable houses on the coast have dignified with the appellation of a town, we determined on stopping there. Having been assured at Constantinople that nothing in the shape of provisions was to be found in the towns and villages on the coast between the Bosphorus and Varna, I had laid in stock for four days: but I found that my advisers had been misinformed, for at Midia and other places in my way a great abundance of fowls, eggs, and milk, were to be had, and at a very low price. At Midia our boat,



though a capacious one, was hauled up on the beach, an awning was formed over it, and I slept in it very soundly until day-break.

We resumed our progress at an early hour, and met with the same calm and sultry weather as the day before, always keeping within more or less distance of the land, of which therefore I had a constant and correct view. The coast was nowhere rocky; but it was generally excessively steep, having been evidently rendered so by the incessant action of the water upon it, in consequence of the strong current which invariably runs towards the southern banks of the Euxine. The adverse influence of this current we had frequently occasion to experience, and it required no small effort, with our four pair of oars, to work against it. Our boatmen were frequently exhausted by their exertions and the sultry weather; but a few glasses of rum out of my travelling canteen had always the effect of reviving their spirits and restoring their strength. Towards sunset, on the second day, we reached the town of Ignada, situated on an elevated neck of land, and inhabited chiefly by Greeks and Bulgarians. I was taken to a Greek monastery, where I met with hospitable treatment on the part of the priests. Throughout European Turkey the convents or monasteries of Greek priests



are maintained by voluntary contributions. A great number of them enjoy the revenues of considerable estates in houses and lands bequeathed by the most zealous sons of the church, which serve to maintain in affluence and idleness many individuals who could not conscientiously boast of motives of a more pious kind for adopting the monastic life. But these establishments, whether rich or poor, are bound to keep their gates open to every traveller, and to supply his wants with all the means within their reach, expecting no bounty in return but that which it might be in the traveller's will to exercise, and bound not to exact a price for the supplies they may be called upon to give.

The convent at Ignada is one of the better kind. It is a very capacious building, the numerous rooms of which are sufficiently supplied with furniture. An abundant supper was provided in the great hall, of which the *igoumen*, or vicar, did the honours in the absence of the bishop. There were about twenty persons at table besides myself, among whom were some of the Greek authorities of the place.

At day-break we again put to sea, with a fine westerly breeze, which promised to take us to Varna before night. But the wind increased, and blew so violently towards noon, that we found



it advisable to put into Sizopoli, which place we were fortunate enough to reach in safety.

Sizopoli, the ancient Apollonia, situated on a small peninsula, is surrounded by a wall in ruins. It has the only harbour that affords safe and convenient anchorage on the whole coast from the Bosphorus to the mouth of the Danube. Ships of war may lie there in safety at all times, and it might have been made a most convenient rendezvous for the Turkish naval forces cruising in the Black Sea in time of war, had any trouble been taken to provide for its defence in case of any attack by a hostile fleet. But the Turks seem to attach very little importance to any naval operations in this quarter. In time of war their armed ships never venture singly in the Euxine, and scarcely ever do their fleets attempt a cruise there. Two reasons are assigned for this : their utter want of skill in navigating their large ships in that dangerous sea ; and their consciousness of defeat should they ever fall in with an enemy's fleet. Many incidents were related to me which afforded amusing illustrations of their utter incompetency for the naval mode of warfare. On their last cruise, in 1810, their force was composed of twelve ships of the line, of which three carried upwards of one hundred guns, and the others not less



than seventy-four. There were also as many large frigates, and a great number of smaller vessels. This force laboured a whole month in getting up from the arsenal, which is in the harbour of Constantinople, to Bouyoukdéré, from whence they were to sail together. After a delay there of another month in further preparations, the whole fleet, under the chief command of the capitan pasha, or high admiral, put to sea, and directed their course towards the Crimea, in the hope of falling in with some straggling Russian vessels. The Russians had of course been fully apprised of the preparations of the Turks, of the motions of the fleet, its strength, and every circumstance the knowledge of which was necessary to regulate their own motions, and they despatched a squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line and some frigates, to cruise in the Black Sea. The two fleets soon came in sight of each other, and the Russians being so much inferior in numbers to the enemy's forces, placed themselves in a line of battle, and remained a whole day in expectation of being attacked. The valorous Turks, however, kept at a respectful distance all the while, unwilling to venture the chances of a close combat; but they most resolutely fired their batteries at the enemy from a distance of two or



three leagues ; and after evincing their bravery, by expending half of their powder and shot on the elements of air and water, it appeared to the high admiral's superior wisdom that enough glory had been achieved to illustrate the season's maritime campaign. During night, therefore, he veered about, and directed his course towards the Bosphorus. A violent storm overtook and dispersed the fleet, and they arrived one after another in the Bosphorus in a sad plight. A great number of the ships had lost their masts, others had thrown the greatest part of their guns overboard, and not one escaped without damage of some kind. But the high admiral brought tidings which made amends for the bad treatment of the elements, and placed his campaign among the most glorious annals of the Ottoman wars. His report was in substance, that he had frightened the Russians by firing at them a whole day, and had thus succeeded in dispersing them. The cannon of the batteries and fortresses in the capital and on the Bosphorus announced this triumph to the world, and the dismasted ships returned once more to the arsenal, not to be again removed that year. There is hardly a doubt but if the squadron over which they had to boast of victory on this occasion had belonged to the French or English, they would



have met with treatment which would have given rise to a different tale.

The wind continued high for three days after our arrival at Sizopoli, and I did not deem it prudent to put to sea in so light a vessel until it had somewhat abated. I was desirous of paying my respects to the governor during my stay at this place ; but he had secretly taken himself off on the night after my arrival, to avoid a somewhat awkward rencontre with an officer sent by the grand vizier from Shoumla to take off his excellency's head. His excellency had been convicted, not of having extorted too much money from those on whom he had been sent to bestow the blessings of good government, but of not having yielded the full share of the produce of his extortions to those of his betters who thought themselves entitled to it—among others, his highness the grand vizier himself. While taking a walk one afternoon on the outside of the town, I came to a place where a Greek was taking water out of a large well for the purpose of filling four large leathern bags loaded on a mule. I inquired the reason why he came so far out of the town to fetch water. The Greek told me that this was the only source from which the whole town of Sizopoli was supplied with water. He added that water could be easily procured in the town by



digging wells ; but as its inhabitants, who are all Christians, were aware that having no water within reach was a certain mode of discouraging Turks from becoming settlers in the place, they were glad enough to avail themselves of that means of keeping off such unwelcome neighbours. How great and tyrannical must be the thralldom which calls for a privation of the most necessary enjoyments in order not to excite envy, and raise a desire of participation ! “ Not known, not molested,” said the old Greek to me, by way of moral to his explanation. It is in fact an adage which the Greeks living under the iron rod of their Mahometan rulers are incessantly obliged to bear in mind.

Previous to my departure from Constantinople for Varna a young Greek of the name of Joseph Drako, had been introduced to me as a person who might be a very useful companion on my way from that capital to Wallachia. Joseph belonged to the suite of the recently appointed hospodar Caragia, and had been detained till then by causes which I learned from him during our progress. His manners and appearance were prepossessing, and rendered his company very acceptable. In our excursions during our detention at Sizopoli, he was fond of speaking of the incidents of his adventurous life. They seemed to



me not altogether unworthy of a space in the narrative of my travels, and the following account appeared in the original impression of them:

“I was born in Wallachia: my father, who was a Greek of the Fannar, held the post of inspector of gipsies, and collector of the impost paid by them to the hospodar. His emoluments were not such as to enable him to provide for his numerous family. At the age of twelve he procured for me the situation of page to a boyar who had been appointed caïmacam, or lieutenant-governor of Lower Wallachia. I soon became a favourite with my patron, who took some pains about my education. After his recall he was sent on business of importance to Constantinople, whither I accompanied him: but his worldly career was cut short soon after. Another competitor for the government of Wallachia had represented him as a secret emissary of the actual hospodar, sent by the latter to forward the views of Russia with regard to the acquisition of Bessarabia by that power. These representations were, as usual, accompanied with a valuable present to the party in the cabinet to whom they were made. Nothing could have been easier of demonstration than the falsehood of the absurd charge brought against my patron; but a Turk in power seldom condescends to call upon a Greek accused of any crime or



misconduct for explanation or defence. Ex-parte statements are equal to the clearest evidence when accompanied by so convincing a proof as a well-filled purse, or a valuable present; and then a Greek's head is a thing so valueless in the eyes of a Turk, that its sacrifice, whether right or wrong, is a matter of little moment. My patron was doomed not to retain his on its shoulders after our arrival in Constantinople. Every thing that he possessed was confiscated by the Porte, and I remained an outcast on the wide world. While in a state of embarrassment and complete destitution, I became accidentally acquainted with a young man, who held the situation of chiboukgee or pipe-bearer to the newly appointed ambassador to the court of France, Galib-Effendi. Finding that I knew French and German, he promised to recommend me to his master as travelling interpreter on his journey to Paris. Galib-Effendi accepted my services, and we set out. The exercise of my office necessarily gave me frequent access to the ambassador, who took a liking to me. On our arrival in Paris he appointed me his palace-interpreter, an office corresponding to that of general master of ceremonies. I occupied a room which overlooked the street, where almost every evening I played on the flute. A young and handsome girl frequently stopped under my



windows, and appeared to listen with some interest to my performances. This so frequently attracted my notice and excited my curiosity, that I resolved at last to go into the street and seek a nearer acquaintance with her. I accosted her, was well received, and in a few days we became intimate friends. She was the daughter of a second-lieutenant in the army, who had been disabled by a wound. Being tired of celibacy, and having no wish to return to Turkey, I demanded in marriage the pretty Toinette, and obtained her hand.

“ On receiving his letters of recall, Galib-Effendi recommended me to the Persian ambassador, who was a mean fellow, neglected and forgotten by his government, and left without a franc. He contrived to borrow from me by degrees the whole of the small sum that I had earned in the service of Galib-Effendi, and at last compelled me to quit his service ; so that in less than three years I lost my situation and my money, and remained with the burden of a wife and two children, for whom it was necessary to provide. Of all the miseries to which we are exposed in this world, surely that is the most insupportable. A single man should never complain of fate : he has none but himself to look after, and he will always contrive to get on through the world ; but



the situation of one who has others besides himself to provide for without any means of support, is calculated to drive a man to madness. I have frequently been surprised at the indifference of many persons so situated; and I can only account for it by the assumption, that there is in the human mind a healing disposition against every anguish.

“After many exertions to procure employment of some kind, I became acquainted with a Greek merchant who was going to Marseilles to load a vessel for Constantinople with merchandise which he had come to purchase in Paris. He engaged me as his broker, clerk, and *fac totum*. As he held out to me the most brilliant prospects, I consented to accompany him to the Ottoman capital, and we sailed together from Marseilles in a vessel freighted entirely by him. Soon after putting to sea we had the ill-luck of falling in with a Sardinian privateer, who gave us chase, took us, and carried us into Cagliari, where the vessel and all its valuables were confiscated and sold, with the exception of a few clothes which were left to us. The Greek merchant could not recover from the effects of this blow, by which he had been reduced to beggary. A brain fever came upon him soon after, and he died, leaving me possessor of a ring of some value, which he



had succeeded in secreting from the captors of his vessel. I sold it to obtain means of subsistence, and finding a vessel ready to sail for Constantinople, I determined to proceed on my way to that capital, in the hope of being once more advantageously employed by my former patron, Galib-Effendi, who, I had learned, had been raised to the office of the sultan's minister of foreign affairs since his return to Turkey. On my arrival, I lost no time in presenting myself before the minister, who received me favourably, and listened with kindness to the tale of my reverses. He promised to procure employment for me, and desired that meanwhile I should take up my abode in his own house. While waiting that an opportunity would occur to the minister in which my services might be called into requisition, the plague broke out in Constantinople. It spread its ravages with dreadful rapidity, and soon reached the household of my patron. A great number of his servants were attacked with the disease, and died. The minister escaped, but, strange to say, the disease was communicated to his *harem* by himself—a proof of its contagious character. The whole of the minister's establishment became such a horrible scene, that, frightened out of my wits, I sallied out one morning into the streets, ran through them with the utmost speed,



and never stopped until I reached an uninhabited mountain, where I remained two days without food. Seeing at last that, in order not to die of the plague I was about to die of hunger, I returned to the minister's palace, and, like himself, had the good fortune not to be attacked by the disease. It was about this time that Caragia was appointed hospodar of Wallachia. The reis effendi thought that, being a Greek myself, and a native of that principality, I could do no better than get an employment there. He therefore recommended me to Caragia, who of course promised his good offices, and desired me to proceed to Wallachia without loss of time. I was ashamed to make known to those gentlemen my want of means to defray the expenses of my journey to Wallachia, and it is to that circumstance that I am indebted for the pleasure of now travelling with you. As I cannot doubt Caragia's intentions, having such support as that of one of the ministers of the Porte, I propose settling for the present in Wallachia, and I shall write to my wife to join me there with our children as soon as possible."

This narrative, and the agreeable manners of my companion, interested me greatly in his concerns, and, before I parted from him altogether, I had



the pleasure of seeing his hopes to a great extent realised.

On the fourth day after our landing at Sizopoli the wind still continued to blow high ; but it was favourable, and I prevailed on our boatmen to put to sea. We sailed at day-break ; and as it was impossible for us to continue very close to the shore, I soon began to think that we had ventured on a dangerous navigation. Fortunately, however, we reached Varna early in the afternoon. As soon as we landed my companion Joseph, who had, with the boatmen, frequently called on the aid of a great number of Greek saints, prostrated himself on the earth, and returned hearty thanks to the Virgin Mary for our happy delivery from the perils of the day.

Varna is a large ill-built town, situated near the mouth of a river which bears its name. Its population amounts to about 16,000, and is composed of Turks, Greeks, and Armenians. A good deal of trade is carried on at Varna, but it is chiefly of the transit kind. The capital receives from thence a part of its provisions, and the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia are supplied with colonial produce and foreign manufactures through its medium. The bay of Varna, however, does not afford convenient or safe anchorage for



large vessels, so that the trade of the place is less important than its situation in other respects might have made it. There is a strong citadel, on which the Russians made several fruitless attempts in the course of the late war. The oda-bashi, or commander of the fortress, informed me that he once defended it against a corps of 12,000 Russians, and a naval force, both which attacked it at the same time. After suffering a severe repulse, the enemy gave up all hope of making any impression on the place. I was, in fact, aware that in 1810 a division under the orders of General Kamensky besieged Varna, and after experiencing severe losses by frequent sallies of the Turkish garrison, was compelled to withdraw. But the quackery of the oda-bashi in endeavouring to make me believe that the defence of Varna was entrusted to him on that important occasion appeared highly amusing. I never met with a person who seemed more unfit to act on any occasion requiring the display of personal bravery, military skill, and activity. He was ignorant of the first elements of war, and appeared as incapable of commanding an army, as he was unfit to administer the affairs of a province. As to sciences, he never had heard even their name. While conversing with him, he asked me whether France was in the neighbourhood of Yassi, and



whether French ships could enter the Black Sea without going through the channel of the Bosphorus! It is really surprising that the affairs of the Turkish government can go on at all, administered as they generally are by men whose minds, similarly to that of the governor of Varna, are involved in the thickest mist of ignorance.

The neighbourhood of Varna has acquired some historical celebrity by the great battle fought there in 1444, between Sultan Amurat II. and Ladislas IV., king of Poland, who had been instigated to an unprovoked attack on Turkey by the Pope Eugenius IV. The two sovereigns commanded in person, and exposed themselves repeatedly to the fury of the combatants. Ladislas received several wounds, and fell into the hands of the janissaries, who cut off his head, and carried it about their ranks on the end of a long pike. This spread so great a terror among the Poles, that they gave way, were pursued and dispersed, leaving the Mahometans complete masters of the field.

The distance from Varna to Silistria is about seventy miles, over a mountainous country, and the mode of travelling on that road is by means of a four-wheeled covered cart, called *arabba*, drawn by one horse at a slow pace. There is just room enough for one person to sit in one of these *arabbas*, and unless the traveller is provided



with a well-stuffed mattress to stretch on, he will find the jolting over the rough stony road almost intolerable.

I was under the necessity of hiring no less than six arabbas, three of which were used for carrying myself, Joseph, and my servant, two for our luggage, and one for the guide. I was charged twenty-five piastres for the hire of each.

There are but few traces of cultivation in the space of country between Varna and the Danube. Few villages are to be met with ; and those few, inhabited chiefly by Mahometans (a very uncommon circumstance in this part of European Turkey), are of the most wretched description. Thanks to the advice of my companion Joseph, we had an ample stock of provisions laid in at Varna : without this supply we should have incurred some risk of starvation on that inhospitable tract of land. We travelled exactly during the time that the sun was up, and stopped at any place we might happen to be when it went down. There was no risk of robbers ; so that we slept in our arabbas without fear. On the evening of the fourth day we arrived at Silistria, on the Danube, a town of some importance previously to its being taken by the Russians, but which I found to be in a state evincing all the horrors of war, which had recently visited it. A few mud-built huts,



resting against the remains of walls of mosques and of public baths, were all that served as residences to its actual inhabitants, and an ill-repaired house had been made the temporary dwelling of Salick-Pasha, its military commandant and civil governor. A stranger's arrival in such a place was an event soon known to all the inhabitants ; and hardly had I got out of my arabba when I received a message from the governor to stop and take my dinner at his house before I proceeded across the Danube. The pasha was a young man of agreeable manners and conversation, apparently fond of all the good things of the present life, and rather unmindful of those which have been promised by the prophet to the grave and abstemious of this world.

When we sat down to dinner I asked him why it was that at the table of an eminent person like himself no plate of any kind was ever to be seen : he informed me with great good-humour that such luxury is strictly forbidden by the koran, which says : "The fire of hell will roar like the roar of a camel in the belly of those who use any precious metals at their meals." When the repast was over basins and ewers were brought in, that we might wash our hands and face, after which we sat on a wide sofa, and pipes and coffee were introduced. We spoke of the customs of the



Turks as compared with those of Christians, and I took occasion to make a complimentary remark on his being the youngest man of the rank of a pasha that I had yet seen in Turkey. "If you knew my situation," answered he, "you would think me more deserving of pity than of the envy of my countrymen. The rank to which chance has raised me, and the authority with which it invests me, expose me to incessant calumny, and to the false representations of the numerous spies by whom I am surrounded. The exercise of my will, which may become terrible to those around me, breeds nothing but enmity and hatred, and yet forbearance would render me contemptible in the eyes of my dependents. Under our government we are all slaves; but they who are more immediately exposed to the caprices of the master are precisely those whom he has condescended to raise to an eminent station. The authority of persons similarly situated with myself may be compared to the absorbing capacity of a sponge, which sucks in every liquid over which it is passed, and yields the whole at once at the pressure of the powerful hand that squeezes it. It is now five years since I first began to be honoured by the sultan's notice. Believe me, that since that period I constantly fancy that I see my head at the feet of my body; and I assure you



that this picture, which haunts my imagination, is far from imparting that happiness which you seem to think I enjoy." These remarks, so full of candour, surprised me not a little in a Turk of this pasha's rank; but it is lamentable to think that they exhibit an instance of good sense and clear-sightedness very rare among his countrymen. Salick-Pasha was, some years after, raised to the office of grand vizier, in which station he remained about a year, at the end of which he was, like all the ministers whom the sultan wishes to displace without putting them to death, sent in exile into some remote corner of the empire.

Early on the day after I had dined with the governor of Silistria I embarked in a flat-bottomed boat, and crossed over to Calarash, a town situated on the Wallachian bank of the Danube. The river is about half a mile wide between Silistria and Calarash, and sufficiently deep to have allowed the Russian flotilla to come up opposite to Silistria, and assist the besieging army during the last campaign in preventing every kind of communication between the grand vizier's army and the garrison.

In passing over these scenes of military operations between the Turks and their eternal enemies the Russians, I could not help reflecting on the wide difference there is between the incorrigi-



ble barbarism of the Turks, and what the hand of civilisation has achieved among the Christian nations of Europe. It is only when that vast empire is threatened by a foreign enemy that steps are taken for its defence. What kind of resistance is to be expected from irregular hordes assembled in haste, unexercised in the arts of war, heaped up in masses together without order or discipline, and commanded by generals who have never heard the report of artillery in the field? The Turks are certainly a brave and chivalrous race, and behind walls they maintain an obstinate resistance to the enemy's attacks; but what avails their desperate courage as opposed to the science of European tactics? Have not the Poles, who were a still more brave and warlike race than the Turks, been annihilated in spite of their unheard-of efforts to maintain their national independence, solely on account of the well-trained armies that were employed to subdue them?

Calarash had been also a considerable town previous to the war; but more than half of it was burned by the Turks on being pursued by the Russians, and forced to cross the Danube. From hence a more expeditious mode of travelling commenced than I had witnessed since my departure from Russia. Four small carts on four wheels each, and each drawn by four horses, and driven



by one postilion, were provided for us. They were filled with hay, on which we placed ourselves in a sort of cross-legged and uncomfortable position. When all was ready my postilion led the way at a smart trot, which was changed into a gallop as soon as we got clear of the streets of the town. The country before us was an immense plain, without any prospect of eminence within view, or the appearance of trees. It put me strongly in mind of the Russian steps. There seemed to be no other high road but the beaten track formed by the post-horses and carts ; but the ground over which we went was perfectly smooth and stoneless.

From Calarash to Bukorest, the capital of Wallachia, the distance is about forty leagues. There are eight post stations, where fresh horses and other post-carts are supplied. The latter being entirely made of wood, without a particle of iron in them, are liable to be set on fire by the friction of the wheels, if used too long at the speed with which post-travelling is conducted in that country. I found much uniformity on this road to Bukorest ; but the more I advanced into the interior, the more I found traces of cultivation, and indications of extreme fertility of soil. The cause of this was explained to me by my companion Joseph. The parts of Wallachia nearest



the Danube are exposed to frequent incursions from the Turks forming the garrisons of the fortified places on the banks of that river, who conduct themselves in a very brutal manner, extorting money from the peasants, and ill-treating them and their crops if no money is to be had. This renders the land in that direction almost unavailable, though in all respects it is as productive and fertile as in other parts of the principality.

We reached Bukorest towards the evening, having been about eleven hours in going over a distance of forty leagues, the stoppages during which must have taken up about two.



## CHAPTER XVI.

Historical remarks relative to Wallachia and Moldavia—Bukorest  
—Wooden pavements—Appearance of the town—The court of  
the hospodar of Wallachia—Description of a ball—Manners of  
society—Wallachian language—Remiz Pasha.

IT is not required of a narrator of travels to enter minutely into the history of every country of which he has to give an account. That of Wallachia has been till lately but little known ; but my friend Mr. Wilkinson, in his Statistical Account of that principality and of Moldavia, has supplied every information on that head which the reader of general history could desire. His book has been translated into French, and therefore become familiar to my literary countrymen. Under these considerations, I shall avoid encroaching on my reader's attention by any lengthened account of the origin and progress of the principality I am about to describe. A brief



sketch, however, may not be deemed unnecessary.

The whole extent of country situated between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains, up to the river Dniester in the north, was included in the kingdom of Dacia, conquered by Trajan and the Romans, in the year 102 of the Christian era. There are still some remains of the famous bridge constructed by that emperor on the Danube, for the purpose of enabling his troops to invade that kingdom. The barbarous hordes by whom the country was inhabited, though conquered, were not subdued. It was therefore deemed necessary to maintain a large military force in order to insure its possession, and a great number of Roman colonists were subsequently sent to establish a preponderance in numbers over the native population. Thus Trajan evinced a determination of civilising the Dacians as well as of retaining possession of their country; and his views were productive of much good to Dacia, so long as he lived to put them into execution. After his death Dacia did not continue to be considered by the Roman government as an acquisition of primary importance to the empire. Under Aurelian, that country seems to have been entirely left to its own fate; but at that period it had already acquired the character of a Roman pro-



vince; and since then, although frequently changing masters, it has preserved the impression of its former affinity with the Romans. After passing successively through the hands of the Goths, the Vizigoths, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Bulgarians, and the Tartars, Dacia was, in the thirteenth century, divided into two distinct kingdoms, or principalities, the one called Moldavia, from the river Moldau, which crosses it to fall into the Danube, and the other Wallachia, from the Wallachs, a small tribe inhabiting the foot of the mountains at the period when two chiefs, or princes, came from Hungary to establish their dominion beyond the Carpathians.

From that period we find Wallachia and Moldavia governed by their respective princes, and advancing in the character of independent states. Sometimes in alliance with the kings of Hungary, at other times with the kings of Poland, and always at peace with each other, the Moldavians and Wallachians continued to thrive under their own princes, preserving the same religion, language, and manners, and differing from each other in no national characteristic.

The progress of Mahomet's conquests in Europe brought the Turks, for the first time, in 1448, in contact with the inhabitants of the trans-Danubean provinces. After a few ineffectual attempts to



check the progress of the Ottoman arms, they consented to become tributary to the sultan, in order to avoid the fate of the Greeks who had been reduced by him to the condition of slaves. From that period to the present time the two principalities have continued on the same footing of dependence on the Ottoman throne; but considerable modifications have since been made in the conditions of that dependence. Until the close of the seventeenth century they were left at liberty to choose their own princes, and the Turks never interfered with their internal government. But in the early part of the eighteenth century the reigning Sultan Achmet laid aside every restraint, and assumed an extent of authority which has since then deprived them of the right of electing their own rulers. On pretence that the two princes had facilitated the invasion of the Russians, under Peter the Great, the sultan caused them, at the termination of the war, to be deposed, and sent Greeks of his own choice from Constantinople to govern in his name the two principalities. To the title of woivodes, or lords of the soil, held by the princes, that of bey, or Ottoman prince, has been substituted, and the sultans have not ceased to consider the appointments as an exclusive right of their own, totally independent of the national wish. It became the practice to farm



the principalities to Greeks who had been long tried servants of the Porte, and whose own habits of obedience would insure the subserviency of the people intrusted to their care. The tribute has always continued to be nominally due to the sultans ; but it is not on so slender a tenure that the latter have of late years considered their sovereignty beyond the Danube to be founded. If they have not in all respects treated the principalities as absolute dependencies of their crown, they have not the less exercised an absolute right of disposing of them as their own domains. Hence, the man who displayed more zeal in raising contributions among their unfortunate inhabitants, in order to supply the unceasing wants of the imperial treasury, enjoyed the greatest favor at the Porte. But when, by virtue of the powers confided to him, he had succeeded in securing treasures for himself besides, he was recalled to Constantinople, put to death, and the wealth he had amassed became the property of the sultan.

The effects of such a ruinous and devastating system may be easily conceived. Oppressed, harassed, and disheartened, the people of Wallachia and Moldavia became nothing better than as cattle attached to the soil. Their miserable condition moved the heart of the Empress Catherine of Russia, and the success of her arms



against the Turks, in 1774, gave her the power of compelling the Porte to acknowledge a right of interference with regard to the affairs of Wallachia and Moldavia. The following stipulation on that subject was introduced in the treaty of peace, called the treaty of Kainargic :

“ The Sublime Porte also acknowledges and admits, that the Russian ambassadors residing at Constantinople shall have the right of interfering with the internal affairs of the two principalities above-mentioned (Wallachia and Moldavia), and engages to pay every regard to their representations.”

The subsequent treaty signed at Yassi, in 1792, binds the Porte to consult the Russian ambassadors with regard to the choice of the governing princes, and to appoint none but such as are approved of, or recommended by the ambassador of the time being. It also stipulates that the princes, whom the court of Russia calls hospodars, shall remain in office during a period of not less than seven years, unless guilty of misconduct, which would render removal necessary previous to the expiration of that time.

Mr. Thornton, in his book entitled, “ Present State of Turkey,” questions whether it ever entered the contemplation of the Russian cabinet to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, and affirms that no



instance has occurred of any exertion of influence on the part of the Russian consuls to alleviate the distresses of the people, to check and restrain the tyranny of the Greeks, or to promote any plan of permanent benefit to the oppressed inhabitants. In reference to this assertion, Mr. Wilkinson, who certainly had better means of information on that subject than Mr. Thornton, observes, that although mere motives of good-will on the part of the Russian cabinet may be questionable, several instances of interference, tending to the benefit of "the oppressed inhabitants," have nevertheless occurred. In an official note given as a declaration of war, in 1789, by the Turkish government to the Russian envoy, one of the principal grievances alleged was the conduct of the Russian consul at Yassi, who had abused his power of interference on behalf of the Moldavians in a manner too insulting not to be resented. Mr. Wilkinson adds, that he has had under his notice a great variety of official documents which proved that later Russian consuls have pursued precisely the same line of interference which was made a pretext for the declaration of war in 1789; and that, during his residence in the principalities, many instances have occurred within his observation of very active exertion on the part of Russia to relieve the inhabitants from the oppressive acts



of the hospodars. From my own opportunities of observation, I have not the least doubt of the correctness of Mr. Wilkinson's testimony on that subject, and I may say with him, that the interference of the Russian consuls in favour of the oppressed inhabitants has, at all events, prevented their condition from becoming as bad as the hospodars would have made it, had they been left at perfect liberty to act according to the spirit of their instructions from the Porte, and to their rapacious inclinations.

After these preliminary remarks, explanatory of the origin and system of government of a country which is still as little known in our parts of Europe as the more distant regions of China, I shall resume the narration of those incidents which fall more naturally under the pen of a writer of travels, and are better calculated to give an entertaining insight into the manners and customs of nations, and the statistical condition of countries.

The first thing that attracted my notice on entering Bukorest was the wooden pavement of the streets. Situated as that city is in an immense stoneless plain, the difficulty and expense of transporting stones for the pavement of the streets have hitherto formed a serious obstacle, though among a people more enterprising and ingenious than the Wallachians, and under a



better government than theirs happens to be, a much fitter substitute for that material than wood must long ago have been discovered. The wooden pavements, however, are subject to no particular inconvenience besides their incapacity of duration, and their greater liability to mud in the wet, and dust in the dry season of the year. Their even surface enabled our springless post-carts to move along with some rapidity, without jolting us any more than we had been on the road. Another peculiarity in the appearance of the town was the space which intervened between almost every house, and which necessarily gave a great length to the streets. Many houses were surrounded with gardens, and were built in an elegant style of architecture, while it not unfrequently happened that close to them were to be seen wretched hovels, more resembling old pigeon-houses than the abodes of human beings.

The postilions drove us up to an open space, situated about the centre of the town, where they stopped to ask us where we wished to be taken to. As they assured us that no such accommodation as an inn was to be met with in Bukorest, my companion Joseph got down, and proceeded to look out for a lodging in some private house. After an absence of an hour, during which time I was exposed to the gaze of a great number of well



dressed and handsome ladies, as well as others, who passed by me in splendid open carriages, Joseph returned, and took me to the house of a boyar who was out of town, and whose servants had consented to receive us for a night or two.

The day after my arrival I wrote to the hospodar, Caragia, saying that I proposed availing myself of the invitation he had given me at Bouyoukdéré of paying him a visit, and requesting to be informed of the time when it might be convenient to him to receive me. An answer was sent by the bearer, written by one of the hospodar's secretaries, by which I was informed, that "his serene highness" would be glad to see me that very evening "at court," where a ball was to be given in celebration of the marriage of his niece. "His highness" moreover caused it to be intimated to me, that being a stranger in a place where no "respectable persons" ever presumed to appear in the streets on the legs that nature has given them, and where no equipages of any kind were to be procured on hire, he had given orders that one of the "court-carriages" should be placed at my disposal. These announcements were exceedingly agreeable, in spite of the ridicule which appeared to me to be attached to the pompous manner in which they were made. Having therefore rested all day, after the fatigues of



my journey, I prepared at the appointed time for my *début* at this "court," not imagining, however, that the choragrophic acquirements of a Parisian stood the least chance of being called into requisition at a ball given by the governor of a semi-barbarous principality.

The outward appearance of the palace was not exactly such as to inspire me with any very exalted opinion of the dignity and state of its possessor. It was formed of two large and ugly buildings, joined together by means of a wooden gallery in an unfinished state. In the midst of an immense yard, crowded with people and carriages, were stuck several torches of pitch, sending forth volumes of offensive smoke towards the windows of a room where I judged that the dancing was to take place. A servant of the palace was in waiting at the foot of the stairs near which I descended from the carriage, who conducted me to the landing-place, where a boyar, who addressed me in French, and who, I afterwards learned, was the hospodar's secretary for foreign affairs, offered to conduct me into the prince's presence. We went through a hall filled by a crowd of servants of the household, but who, from the Albanian costume they wore, might have been taken for the prince's guards. At the extremity of this hall an ample red cloth curtain, which covered a large door, was raised



on our approach, and in a spacious apartment I beheld a most brilliant assemblage of ladies, dressed in white, according to the Parisian costume. They were sitting in a row round the three parts of the room. I followed my conductor through this avenue of Wallachian beauties to one of the upper corners of the room, where a man whose features and person, with the exception of a white beard, were entirely covered under an immense quantity of sable fur, which lined his ample cap and garments. This personage rose on my approach, and it was then only that I recognised Caragia. All the ladies in the room rose at the same time, and remained in a standing posture until the hospodar sat down again. His wife was at his right, and his two grown and married daughters, as well as his newly-married niece, at his left. I was received with great cordiality, and was made to take a seat in this family corner. The foreign consuls soon after came in, each of them being received in the same manner as I had been, and taking a seat near our group. I observed that when a boyar\* made his appearance he bowed very low at the door, and immediately took his station at the furthest extremity of the room. The hospodar

\* The Wallachian and Moldavian nobles are so called in their country.



did not return his salute by rising. The Wallachian ladies, however, on their introduction, came up and kissed the hand of the prince, who never failed to return a similar compliment on their cheeks, when they were young and handsome. Sweetmeats and coffee were served round to the company ; after partaking of which we proceeded to the ball-room, where the hospodar and his group resumed their station in an upper corner, and dancing commenced by an English country-dance. An Hungarian band of musicians, dressed after the rich fashion of their country, performed in a very pleasing style, and the dancers did their part in a spirited and graceful manner, which surprised me greatly. The French quadrille, the German waltz, and the Polish mazurka were afterwards introduced in turn, and all were danced in a style of great perfection, especially by the ladies. The hospodar, in answer to my remarks on a circumstance which I had so little looked for, informed me that the accomplishment of the Wallachians in the general choragraphy of Europe had been acquired during the late occupation of the principality by the Russians, who had introduced those dances which they themselves were most partial to ; since which the native dance had almost entirely fallen into disuse among the upper classes of society. In order to gratify



my curiosity respecting the style of this dance he gave orders that it should be performed. I confess that, after the specimen I saw of it, I fully approved of the taste of those of the natives who had suffered it to be superseded by the foreign fashion of dancing. About twenty persons of both sexes took each other by the hands, forming a circle. They turned round and round again at a very slow pace, the men bending their knees occasionally, and casting an insignificantly languid look on the women they held by each hand. The tune to which this was performed was in a minor key, and not quite unpleasant to the ear.

The dignity of "his serene highness" would not, of course, admit of so frivolous an occupation as dancing; nor indeed would it allow of his once moving from the cross-legged sitting posture he had assumed on his ample and elevated sofa, until the time when supper was announced. A very large table had been prepared in another room, served entirely on the principles of European banqueting. The prince took his station in the centre; on each side of him sat the lady of a foreign consul. Opposite to him was the princess, by whom I was invited to place myself. The rest of the company took their places as chance directed.



At four in the morning I retired to my lodging, having seen more of the Wallachian "court" and Wallachian society in the course of a few hours, than I might have done in as many months had I been less favored by chance.

For two or three days after my appearance at court a great number of boyars whom I had met there came to visit me. Although I had not formed their personal acquaintance on that occasion, they had witnessed the polite reception I had experienced from the hospodar, and it became incumbent on them, as well-practised courtiers, to follow the example set by their chief. They offered their services, and invited me to their houses; and from whatever motive these hospitable demonstrations might have sprung, they could not fail to prove gratifying to one who was a complete stranger in the country. Most of these gentlemen spoke French or Italian fluently, and possessed the manners of well-bred persons. The costume of their class resembles that of the upper ranks of Turks in every particular excepting the head-covering, which, with the boyars, consists of a large bonnet called kalpack, in the shape of a reversed pear, made of grey or black Astracan fur, and measuring round the widest part not less than three feet. The dress of the peasants in Wallachia is quite different from that



of their betters. It is precisely what the figures of Trajan's pillar in Rome represent as being the costume of the Dacians. Previous to the occupation of the principalities by the Russian troops, the dress of the Wallachian ladies was similar to that of the Greek women of Constantinople; but since that period the Russian (taken from the Parisian) style of dress has been adopted; and although attempts were made by Caragia to have it set aside, in consequence of the re-establishment of the Ottoman authority in the country, it has been preserved. The Wallachian ladies very judiciously maintained that decided improvements in the customs of society should not be relinquished for those of a barbarous age.

The language most in use at court is the modern Greek, which is spoken both at Bukorest and at Yassi with much greater purity than in Greece itself. It differs little from the ancient Greek, and the characters are precisely the same; but the national, or Wallachian language, is used invariably in public documents, in legal pleadings before the hospodar, and generally in conversation among the higher classes of the natives. The lower orders speak no other. It is hardly possible that a stranger, who knows Italian, Latin, Russian, and Greek, should not understand Wallachian: for this language is a *composé* of



words taken from the other four. Italian has contributed in a greater degree than the others to the formation of the Wallachian tongue, and its pronunciation has been preserved: there is a difference, however, in sound, produced by an invariable omission of the vowel with which almost every Italian word terminates. The Wallachians have preferred ending the words they have borrowed from the Italians at the last consonant.

Having made up my mind to spend a few months at Bukorest, I lost no time in availing myself of the polite invitations I had received so soon after my arrival, and in a few days I became acquainted with all the society of the place. There was a mixture of wealth and wretchedness, of profusion and parsimony, in the houses of the boyars, which presented very singular contrasts to the eye of a stranger, and told how incomplete was yet the work of civilisation among them. Their tables were served much after the Russian dining fashion; and a great abundance of dishes seemed a more indispensable requisite than perfection in the style of cookery. The knives and forks were richly mounted in silver; but neither they nor the spoons were ever changed or wiped during dinner. A great number of servants waited at table, most of whom were gipsy slaves, whose filthy persons and ragged garments formed a



remarkable contrast with the fine appearance and ornamental accoutrements of the Arnaouts, with whom they did the business of attendance. The universal dining-hour was two o'clock, and the time of sitting at table seldom more than half an hour. Almost immediately after eating the guests withdrew, and every one retired for the accustomed *siesta*, without which a Wallachian gentleman or lady would think as soon of doing, as of dispensing with sleep at night. After a couple of hours' rest the boyars partook of an additional kind of a repast, consisting of sweetmeats, cold water, and coffee, to which a pipe or two was frequently added, and then the carriage drew up to the door, and drove its owners to a place called Hellesteo, situated about a mile out of town, where all the "world of fashion" assemble of an afternoon, to take ices and kill time. In the evening parties were formed in the principal houses, in which card-playing, a very favourite pastime among the Wallachians, seldom failed to be introduced.

The Greek religion prevails in Wallachia, but it does not appear that its precepts have made any impression on the morals of the inhabitants. There is perhaps no Christian country where the sacred ties of matrimony are less respected and more frequently violated. But as most marriages are arranged by the parents while their children are



yet almost in a state of infancy, some allowance ought to be made for a circumstance so little calculated for a strict maintenance of the conjugal faith.

One evening the Count Toudesko, with whom I had formed a more intimate acquaintance than with any of the other boyars of Wallachia, called on me to propose a ride to a summer-house of his, situated a few miles out of town on the road to Yassi. A Turkish pasha of some consequence was to make his public entry in Bukorest, and the hospodar's state-coaches, with a numerous guard of honour, had been sent to take him up at the post station situated in the neighbourhood of the count's country residence. All the inhabitants of Bukorest were proceeding in that direction, to witness the procession intended to do honour to the approach of this Mahometan grandee. Before I proceed to give an account of the catastrophe by which this scene of expected mirth was turned into one of a tragic kind, it will not be unnecessary to say a word or two of the previous history of the personage to whom it relates. It may afford a more striking illustration of the character and policy of the Sultan Mahmoud than any thing which it has yet been in my power to state on that head.

Remiz-Pasha filled the station of captain-pasha, or high-admiral, during the short reign



of Sultan Moustapha, the brother and predecessor of Mahmoud. His fleet happened to be at anchor in the harbour of Constantinople, exactly opposite to the palace of the aga, or chief of the janissaries, at the time when the revolt against the sultan and his prime vizier, Moustapha Baï-ractar, broke out. Remiz endeavoured to create a diversion in favour of the government, by opening a fire from his ships on the aga's residence, which the leaders of the insurrection had made the point from whence their operations were to be directed. He succeeded in reducing that building to a heap of ruins: but this did not in any way check the progress of the rebels, and only served to incense that party against Remiz-Pasha, who, after their triumph was completed, insisted that the sacrifice of his life should atone for the hostile part he had taken against them. Remiz saw too well the fate which awaited him after the turn that circumstances had taken; and, apparently not yet as great a convert to the doctrine of predestination as the generality of his countrymen, he embarked secretly on board of a small vessel, and sailed forthwith for Odessa, where he might remain in safety until the fury of the janissaries had been exhausted, and his proceeding forgotten. Although Russia was then at war with Turkey, Remiz met with a hospitable reception on the



part of the Duke de Richelieu, at whose recommendation he subsequently transferred his residence to St. Petersburg.

Remiz-Pasha was related to the reigning family by his mother's side, who was a princess of the imperial blood. This circumstance, instead of becoming favourable to his future prospects, proved fatal to him under the policy of the new sultan. It did not suit Mahmoud that any competitor for his throne, however remote the possibility of his ever being called to it, or slender the grounds of his pretensions, should be suffered to exist. Remiz, therefore, was to be got rid of; and in order that this should be done in the most effective way, the following mode of proceeding was adopted :—

Soon after peace between the Turks and Russians had been signed at Bukorest the sultan addressed a hattî-sheriff, or autograph letter, to Remiz-Pasha at St. Petersburg, assuring him that there was no longer any cause which rendered his absence from Turkey advisable; pressing him to proceed forthwith to Constantinople; and intimating to him his appointment to the office of grand-vizier of the empire, the most important in a Turkish sultan's gift. Remiz-Pasha entertaining no doubts whatever of the good faith and kindly intentions of his sovereign and relative, immediately replied that he should lose



no time in returning to Constantinople. Upon this the sultan gave orders that a guard of two hundred chosen Turks should proceed to Wallachia, under the special command of an officer of his household, to serve ostensibly as a guard of honour to the new vizier on his setting foot on Ottoman territory, but to act precisely as their appointed chief should direct them. Instructions were at the same time forwarded to the hospodars, Callimachi of Moldavia, and Caragia of Wallachia, to give every assistance which the sultan's emissary might require of them; and the real object of his being sent to meet the vizier, that of putting him to death the very moment he should be within the jurisdiction of the frontier authorities, was of course communicated to the two hospodars, in order to secure a more effective co-operation on their part. But the late humane and excellent Prince Callimachi\* did not choose to be made a

\* During seven years that he governed Wallachia, he never suffered sentence of death to be executed on any criminal, and he introduced a clause in the criminal code of the principality abolishing capital punishment altogether. He fell, with an immense number of his countrymen as blameless as himself, at the general slaughter made among the Greeks who were within reach of the Turkish sabre at the commencement of the Greek insurrection. Although a martyr to the cause, he had not even the glory of having in any way promoted its interests.



participating agent in an act so revolting to his feelings, and he artfully contrived to let his share fall into the hands of his colleague of Wallachia. Remiz-Pasha was therefore suffered to pass through Yassi, after being received there with all the honours due to the sultan's lieutenant.

It was on the pasha's approach to Bukorest that the inhabitants of that city, deceived by the preparations made at court for the reception of so eminent a personage, went to meet him on the road by which he was expected to arrive.

The hospodar's state-coach, drawn by six magnificent black horses, and accompanied by a train of petty officers and guards was waiting at the end of a long wooden bridge, when my friend the Count Toudesko and myself proceeded from his country-house in the neighbourhood to view the procession. The whole length of the bridge was commanded by a rising ground, distant only a few yards from it, on the summit of which were stationed the two hundred Turkish guards in a line, and a great number of men belonging to the prince's guard, standing behind the Turks. When the state-coach, with the vizier inside, had come up in front of these men, a volley of two hundred muskets was fired into it: the vizier, pierced by a great number of balls, fell lifeless to the bottom of the coach, and



a Greek officer of the hospodar, acting as master of the ceremonies, was also killed. I shall never forget the shout of horror set up by the crowd of spectators after this unexpected discharge of musketry on the coach, nor the confusion which ensued. The poor Wallachians, thinking that a general slaughter was about to take place, set off in all directions with all the swiftness they could command. Horses galloping at full speed, carriages driven at the quickest possible rate, and pedestrians of both sexes running with all their might, they knew not where, presented one of the most extraordinary scenes I ever witnessed. I had been conversing a few minutes before with a niece of my friend Toudesko, a beautiful girl of eighteen, who was betrothed to the very officer who happened to have been chosen as the conductor of the pasha, and was killed. I never could exactly learn by what clumsy arrangement he was exposed to become a victim of this treacherous proceeding. The poor girl, almost an eyewitness of his death, rent the air with her screams. She leaped out of her open carriage, and ran towards the spot where the state-coach had been stopped short by the *fusillade*. We removed her with some difficulty from this scene of confusion, and conveyed her home in a state of insensibility.



The procession, however, resumed its progress so soon as fresh horses were put to the coach in lieu of the poor beasts who had also experienced the effects of the balls aimed at the coach. It took the body of the vizier to a house hired previously for the purpose of receiving him, and on the following day the remains were conveyed for interment to Roustchiouk, except the head, which was despatched to the sultan, to serve as a proof that the imperial will had been obeyed.



## CHAPTER XVII.

Geographical situation of Wallachia—Its climate and population—Fertility of soil and productions—Bukorest—The boyars, or nobility—The divan, or judicial council of state—Mines in the Carpathians—Reasons why they are not explored—Anecdotes illustrative of the manners of the boyars—The peasantry—Some account of the Wallachian gipsies.

WALLACHIA is situated between the forty-eighth and fiftieth degrees of latitude, and is separated from the southern provinces of Austria by the Carpathian mountains, from Russia by Moldavia, and from Bulgaria, or Turkey in Europe properly called, by the Danube. The neighbourhood of the long string of high mountains which border it on one side, and of the Black Sea and Mount Hæmus on the other, renders its climate extremely variable ; but upon the whole it is very favourable to the developement and maturity of the productions of the soil. The



population of the whole principality amounts to about one million. This is less than one-sixth of what the extent and resources of the land would afford ample means of support to. The fertility of the soil in Wallachia is not perhaps surpassed in any other part of the world. It produces in abundance and perfection wheat and every other grain, and all the fruits that are common to Europe. The principal articles of the export trade consist in timber, spars, hare-skins, sheeps'-wool, bees'-wax, honey, butter, cheese, yellow-berries, and hides. These articles are exempt from prohibitory regulations, and may therefore be exported on payment of the ordinary duties. But the staple article of Wallachia as well as of Moldavia is wheat, which, in spite of the system of the government, calculated in every way to discourage agricultural industry, is grown in much greater abundance than the local consumption requires, and affords a surplus which has been wholly monopolised by the sultan. Cattle of all kinds also abound in the two principalities, and are transportable only to Constantinople and other parts of the Turkish empire, at prices which the Porte takes upon itself to fix.

One of the most important sources of wealth possessed by Wallachia would be the mines of gold, silver, quicksilver, iron, copper, sulphur,



and coals, with which the Carpathian mountains evidently abound, if they could be worked. But it is a lamentable proof of the stupid and perverse policy of the government, that these important resources are suffered to remain inactive, lest the manifestation of so many riches should excite an ambitious desire in the neighbouring powers to possess them! The hospodars themselves should not perhaps bear the whole blame of the vices with which their mode of governing these unfortunate provinces abounds. They are but the tools of an uncompromising despot, who looks upon the produce of the two provinces as a momentary resource which should be availed of to the utmost so long as it remains within reach. The incessant calls of the sultan's purse, and the continual dread of the effects of his anger, if not satisfied to the utmost expectations, necessarily bear an overwhelming influence on every thought and action of the hospodars.

Bukorest, the capital of Wallachia, was, about four hundred years ago, but an insignificant village, the property of a person called Bukor, from whom it has derived its name. Its central situation appeared to the vaïvode, Constantine Bes-sarabba, to render it more eligible for the seat of government, than Tirgovist, the former capital of the principality, and in 1698 he removed thither



with all his court and nobles. The present population of the Wallachian capital is about eighty thousand. It contains no less than three hundred and sixty-six churches. The river Dimbovitza runs through it, joining the river Argis about fifteen miles beyond the town, both which empty their waters in one stream into the Danube, not far from Calarash. The Dimbovitza is a rapid river, with a muddy bed, and swampy banks, greatly subject to swells occasioned by the superabundant falls of rain which occur during spring and summer in the Carpathian mountains, from whence it derives its source. Fish of sizes not exceeding that of mackerel abounds in the Dimbovitza; but the insipidity and muddiness of its taste makes it no very eligible food, and the fish-markets therefore receive their supplies from the Danube and other larger rivers than the Dimbovitza. This river, however, is of great importance to the inhabitants of Bukorest, being the only source from which they are supplied with water for every purpose. It is generally used after being suffered to rest, or made to undergo the process of filtration, and is very wholesome.

Under the wooden pavements of the streets of Bukorest, which the natives designate by the more appropriate appellation of bridges, large ditches have been dug for the purpose of receiving



the filth of the city, and from thence conveying it into the river. But such is the carelessness of the local police, and even of the inhabitants themselves, that the filth is frequently suffered to accumulate for months, corrupting the atmosphere, and engendering disease in the hot season, especially fevers of the typhus, putrid, and tertian kinds. Physicians are, therefore, a busy set of men in that city; but notwithstanding the habit of the Wallachians of seeking a cure for mere effects, quite unmindful of causes, I hardly suppose the medical profession can derive much profit from extensive practice among a people who contract debts without hesitation, but seldom think of paying any part of them.

In Bukorest itself no trade is carried on but that which relates to local consumption alone. There are shops in abundance, well supplied with all kinds of wares from the home markets, and from those of every other country in the world. Merchandise is sent thither by different routes. Fine goods and carriages from Vienna come over the Danube as far as Orsova, from whence they are forwarded over-land.

There are public schools in which the children of boyars, possessed of small fortunes, and those of the principal traders of the place, receive their education under Greek and foreign masters ap-



pointed for different branches of learning. But these schools are so completely under the controul of the government, that they partake of the neglect which every thing that relates to the national good is suffered to fall into. Some of the principal boyars send their sons to receive a part of their education in Vienna, and in the universities of Italy; but it is not always that they can obtain permission from the hospodars to do so; and the mere fear of being suspected of a partiality for the refinements of Europe prevents many from adopting that mode of introducing civilisation in their own country.

The boyars of Wallachia are the great proprietors of the land, and the privileged candidates for offices relating to the internal administration of the country. They are divided into five distinct classes, the first of which is alone entitled to seats in the divan, or judicial council of state. Their rank is evinced by wearing their beards at full length. This privilege, about which nature has been so little scrupulous, is here strictly prohibited to all who have not the honour of being boyars of the highest class. The offices of first-rate importance, usually filled by native boyars, and which entitle their holders to a seat in the divan, are those of logothet, or chancellor of the principality, vestiar, or treasurer, two vorniks, or



chief magistrates of Upper and Lower Wallachia, and aga, or chief of the police: the rest of the regular number of this acting council, which is twelve, is filled up by boyars who have no actual employment. The metropolitan archbishop has, by right of his office, a permanent seat in the divan, and may exert considerable influence there. But as the archbishopric is changed with every new hospodar, care is always taken that it be bestowed on some one on whose entire subser-viency full reliance may be placed.

The sittings of the divan, held three times a week, are always presided by the hospodar. Judicial causes are heard there and decided upon by a majority of suffrages: but so great is the deference paid to the president's opinion, that unanimity in favour of it is sure to prevail. In fact this chamber is but a shadow of constitutional authority, the prince's will being the undoubted rule of all.

There are no other titles attached to the nobility of Wallachia but those which are conferred by offices once held. Thus, though a logothet, or chancellor, remain in office but one year, he is ever after designated by that title, prefixed to his name. It is only by adding the word *maray*, or great, that the actual possessor of the office is distinguished from the many who bear his title.



A great number of first-rate offices besides these are held at the court of the hospodar; but being of a more confidential nature, they are always intrusted to Greeks of the Fannar, the near relatives or intimate friends of the hospodar. Among these, the principal are, the postelnic, or prime minister, spathar, or military commandant and supreme chief of the police of the principality, and camarash, or high-chamberlain. Every government appointment is renewed at the end of a year's exercise of its duties. An immense number of minor offices and titles exist, the greater part of which are purchasable. They are paid for in proportion to their value, or to the price set on them by the ambition of the candidate. There is this advantage in the titles of nobility, however inferior their rank, that they exempt for ever the possessors of them and their posterity from the payment of the personal tax to which the peasantry, who form the bulk of the population, are subjected. This tax is of a nature similar to the haratch, and involves every male member of the agricultural community from the age of sixteen. Its exact amount varies in Wallachia; but the annual average is about ten millions of piastres. Now, as the regular tribute payable to the Porte is fixed at two millions of piastres, and the local charges of the state might be more than defrayed by the more legitimate sources of revenue, it is



evident that this capitation tax is levied for the purpose of supplying the sultan's private purse, and therefore as odious in principle, as it is revolting, by the oppressive means used for the purpose of enforcing its payment. It is on this particular subject that the Russian and Wallachian authorities have been frequently at variance, without having yet come to an understanding as to the precise mode in which the local taxes ought to be regulated.\* The population might have met with sufficient protection against arbitrary exactions on the part of their own principal boyars had these been men of any energy or patriotism; but so far from ever employing their influence in checking the rapacious system of the Greek hospodars, they appear most forward in oppressing their countrymen, as eager as any of the foreign harpies in extortions for their own private benefit, and perfectly careless of the ruinous consequences which in the long run fall on their own lands.

The currency in Wallachia chiefly consists of

\* Since the war of 1828-9, between the Russians and Turks, the Wallachians and Moldavians have gained the advantage of being no longer governed by Greeks of the Fannar. But the system does not appear to have undergone any change in consequence of the privilege gained by the inhabitants of electing their hospodars from among the native boyars.



the Turkish para and piastre, the Spanish dollar, and the Dutch and Austrian gold ducat. It is a great proof of the inexhaustible resources of that fine country that money is at all times plentiful, notwithstanding the extraordinary demand for it among the prodigal boyars, and the constant drain of it kept up by the system of the government. The legal rate of interest is ten per cent; but usury is a common practice, and fifty per cent, with ample security, has not unfrequently been given. A curious cause was tried when I was at Bukorest, which occasioned considerable sensation there, the parties being persons of great notoriety. A boyar, formerly possessing great wealth, having ruined himself by the extravagance of his expenses, and being left absolutely destitute, had recourse to the expedient, as likely to afford some relief to his desperate situation, of bringing an action against a foreign banker resident in the place, who had acquired considerable wealth by usurious practices. This capitalist had once advanced a sum of 500,000 piastres to the prodigal boyar at an interest of fifteen per cent, being five per cent above the legal rate. The loan had been duly returned at the stipulated time for reimbursement, and several years had elapsed since the transaction had been entirely closed. In his days of poverty the ruined boyar applied to the



rich banker for the trifling advance of 500 piastres, and experienced an unceremonious denial. Glad in having a pretext in the mean conduct of one who had formerly reaped so much profit at his own expense, he brought his action against the usurious banker for the recovery of the overcharge of interest formerly made, forming altogether an amount of 25,000 piastres. After so many years had elapsed since the close of the transaction, it became a matter of great difficulty for the boyar to place beyond all doubt the point of overcharge ; and notwithstanding the former notoriety of that circumstance, and the hospodar's utmost willingness to decide in favour of the boyar, the forms of justice could not be openly violated by a similar decision upon the slender evidence in a legal form : a compromise of matters was therefore advised, and the boyar withdrew his suit on receiving from the banker the sum of 10,000 piastres as full compensation.

Another case came to my knowledge respecting the prodigality of this same boyar, which I shall relate as generally illustrative of the extraordinary *insouciance* of the boyars in the management of their concerns, and the ease with which they are made dupes of by knaves and adventurers, who enrich themselves at their expense. There was a French schoolmaster attached to his household,



who so far ingratiated himself into the good graces of the Wallachian nobleman, that he received from him, as an additional reward for his services, a seven years' gratuitous lease of a vineyard, yielding an income of from seven to eight thousand piastres a-year. From the peculiar quality of the grapes it produced the Frenchman contrived to make a kind of wine which imitated champagne sufficiently to make it pass as such among persons who were not great connoisseurs. The very proprietor of the vineyard himself was deceived; and the Frenchman cunningly availing himself of that circumstance, had all his wine put into bottles, and packed up in cases, which he regularly sold to the boyar as champagne received from France at a very exorbitant price. This kind of traffic continued for some years, until the Frenchman became a creditor of the boyar for an amount which the latter found himself unable to pay, and for the liquidation of which he gave to the Frenchman the property of the very vineyard from which the transaction arose!

Grapes are a fruit of very common growth in Wallachia; but the climate of the country will not permit them to advance to a degree of maturity that would impart to the wine produced from them a strength equal to that of the wines of the south of France. The vine is always planted on the



sides of hills facing the south, and never in the plains, or in places exposed to the northern and easterly winds. The mode of making wine is as little understood in that country as it is in every part of Turkey ; otherwise its quality, as the case of the boyar and the Frenchman above related proves, might be made to vie with other wines of European fame, in spite of the disadvantages of climate. As it is, however, it seems to have become a favourite beverage in the Austrian and Russian provinces adjacent, and a great quantity is annually exported there. The common price of wine in Wallachia is about seven or eight paras the oke, which is equal to an English halfpenny the measure of three English pints. The Wallachians themselves are, in general, no great wine drinkers. Among the boyars pure water is the ordinary beverage, and the vice of drunkenness is held in abhorrence. But the lower orders, though apparently not given to inebriety, seem to be very fond of spiritous liquors, of which as great a quantity is annually made as of wine. There is therefore an immense number of low public-houses throughout the country, in many of which the very refined *spectacle* of bear-dancing is frequently added to the other attractions. In some of the public-houses in Bukorest dancing prostitutes are introduced as an improvement on the other exhibition :



but although mirth and revelry seldom ceases in those sinks of infamy, I have never heard of any instance of the public peace having been disturbed in consequence of the toleration extended them. Of course the government, which makes a source of revenue of every thing under its controul, takes good care that they pay a good tax for being allowed to keep their doors open.

The quiet and peaceable habits of the Wallachians are indeed a prominent feature of their national character. The humbler classes, until within a century released from a state of vassalage which placed them in a condition of slavery, are a meek and quiet race, so used to blows and all kinds of ill treatment on the part of their superiors, that they never approach them but in an attitude of profound humility. They are, nevertheless, an active and industrious people, and not quite so completely brutalised by the state of awe and subjection in which they are maintained as to be insensible to the hardship of their fate. Generations have yet to pass away, however, before any amelioration can be expected from any thing like a determination of their own to obtain it. Their religious notions are founded on the most ridiculous superstition. They believe in witchcraft, in apparitions of the dead, in ghosts, and in all kinds of miracles performed by the saints, and



the virtues of the holy water. The image of a favourite saint is the only physician they apply to in sickness, and the promise of a wax candle to the Virgin Mary, on condition of recovery, is a species of bribery which they believe to be seldom withstood. They observe Lent with the utmost rigour, and make the moral of religion consist almost entirely in that duty; and the absolution of the confessor, in most cases obtainable by means of a trifling fee, releases their conscience from the weight of every sin. Divine Providence seems to be forgotten in the midst of the multiplicity of intercessors through whom worship is addressed, and the thought of addressing a prayer to the heavenly throne itself never occurs to them.

There are in Wallachia and Moldavia several tribes of gipsies, the whole number of whom amounts to between 150,000 and 200,000. Their establishment in those provinces appears to date with their irruption from Germany in the fifteenth century. As elsewhere, they are remarkable for their brown complexion, their handsome features, and their robust constitutions. Hardened by incessant exposure to every excess of climate, they appear fit for any labour and fatigue; but their aversion to industrious pursuits is inveterate, and they prefer the miseries of indigence to the



enjoyment of comforts obtainable through persevering exertion. A propensity to thieving, so common to the other tribes of their race, is remarkable in them, as well as an antipathy to cleanly habits. In both principalities the gipsies are divided into two distinct classes of slaves; the one composed of those who are the property of the local government, and the other of those who are the property of private individuals. The former are suffered to stroll about the country. They earn this liberty by the annual payment of a tribute equal to forty piastres for each male individual above the age of fifteen. The others are generally retained by their proprietors as household servants, or labourers on their lands: some of these are suffered to follow common trades, or allowed to wander about the country, on the same footing as the government gipsies. The practice of employing gipsies as servants in the different departments of the household is productive of inconveniences to which habit seems to have rendered their masters indifferent. From the filthy propensities of the gipsy cooks, and the inattention of the masters and mistresses, who affect great horror at the very idea of condescending to notice any of the details of the household, the kitchens of the boyars are little better than the common receptacles for swine. If the gipsy



servants happen to give offence to their masters, the bastinado on the naked soles of their feet is a punishment which seldom fails to be applied. I have witnessed similar acts of authority exercised at the bidding of the lady of the house for the accidental breaking of a plate or spilling of gravy at table. The poor culprit was hurried out of the room by two or three other gipsy servants, and his cries under the windows of the room in which we were dining soon afforded proof to the unconcerned mistress that her orders were punctually obeyed. Upon one of those occasions I gave offence by an attempt to appease the landlady's wrath, and on another my intercession produced nothing more than a smile, accompanied with a shrug of the shoulders, expressive of wonder that I should bestow a thought on a matter so little worthy of notice!

The Wallachian and Moldavian gipsies speak the language of the country: but those who lead a wandering life use a kind of jargon among themselves, composed of a corruption of Bulgarian, Servian, and Hungarian words, sounding in pronunciation something similar to the Hungarian language. They are, notwithstanding their utility, held in great contempt by the other inhabitants, who seem, indeed, to consider them as little better



than a species of the brute creation. Their quality of slaves is acknowledged by the surrounding nations, and deserters are restored, when claimed, as private property. The fugitives, however, generally take such measures as to render discovery impracticable.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Last visit to Prince Caragia—His wise resolves—Prince Ghika's death—Departure from Bukorest with the Count Toudesko—Pitesht—Argis, remarkable church—Roads in the Carpathians—Austrian frontier—Lazaretto—Performance of quarantine—Gold found on the banks of the river Olt—Precious stones in the neighbouring mountains—The pass of Rothen-Thurn—Arrival at Hermanstadt.

HAVING prolonged my stay in Bukorest until the middle of autumn, I began to think of proceeding on my journey towards Vienna, before the setting in of the snow season in the Carpathians, which usually takes place in the latter part of November, and continues until the end of February, during which time the passes through those mountains are frequently rendered inaccessible and always dangerous. I called to pay my respects for the last time to the hospodar Caragia, and to return thanks for the friendly attentions I had experienced from him during my stay in Bukorest. On expressing my regret at the im-



probability of our ever meeting again, the hospodar reminded me of the Turkish adage, "Mountains alone can never meet; but men have always a chance of returning into each other's presence." He added, that it was by no means impossible we should some day meet in another part of Europe. I did not at the time attach any serious meaning to these words; but some years after they were recalled to my remembrance by the circumstances attending Caragia's retirement from Wallachia; and I cannot doubt that from the very first year of his septennial government he had formed the wise resolution of not trusting himself, after the expiration of that period, into the sanguinary hands of sultan Mahmoud. The fate of a great number of his predecessors had sufficiently opened his eyes on the dangers of future retirement to Constantinople. Nearly three-fourths of the Greek hospodars appointed by the sultans during the last century had been beheaded on their return to that capital; and the treacherous stratagem to which the unfortunate Remiz-Pasha had fallen a victim furnished a sufficient proof that the reign of blood had not ceased with Mahmoud's accession to the throne. Many of the Greeks had lost their heads, to afford a plausible pretext for the seizure of their property; for it is the practice of the Turkish sultans, when aiming at the wealth



of a rayah, to put him to death on some pretext of treason to the state, in order to give a legal colouring to the confiscation of his property, which is the necessary consequence of a conviction of such a crime. Others had forfeited their lives for no better reason than a passing whim or some imaginary guilt. Of these, one of the most striking instances is afforded by the history of Prince Ghika, appointed hospodar of Moldavia in 1790, and of whose private character and public conduct all the boyars of that principality who were his contemporaries speak in high terms of praise. It seems that his sublimity the reigning sultan of that period heard of Ghika's growing popularity among the Moldavians, and deemed it an unpardonable offence. Secret messengers were despatched one after the other to Yassi, to put the hospodar to death; but Ghika knew the dangers of that kind to which his station exposed him, and was upon his guard. He so contrived, therefore, that all these messengers of blood had to return without the wished-for head. The sultan, however, was not easily to be diverted from his purpose. It was reported to him that there was a Turk of obscure condition in the capital who had formerly been on terms of the most intimate friendship with Ghika, and that it was likely this man would easily consent to become the instru-



ment of his sovereign's will. Being called into the seraglio, he himself suggested a plan of operations which could hardly fail to succeed. A day or two afterwards he received the appointment from the Porte of commissioner, charged with the inspection of the Turkish fortresses on the Dniester, and set out for Hotimm. His road lay through Yassi; and his business was of so plausible a kind, that Ghika's suspicions could not be excited by the arrival there of one who, independently of these considerations, had always appeared his friend. The hospodar therefore caused a house to be prepared for the Turkish commissioner, and gave him the most cordial reception. At their first interview the Turk complained of a cold, which he said he had caught on the journey, and intimated his intention of remaining in Yassi until he had recovered from its effects. On the following day he confined himself to his room, and in a day or two after he remained in bed, and feigned serious illness. The hospodar, who sent daily to make inquiries after the commissioner's health, was regularly informed of the alarming progress of its decline. One morning he received a message from the Turk, to the effect that he was in a dying state, and being anxious to leave some instructions regarding his family and property with some friend on whom he could place reliance, and



knowing no other person in Yassi in whom he could confide at such a moment but the hospodar himself, he felt extremely desirous of seeing him for that purpose. Ghika hastened to the bedside of his pretended friend, and being left alone with him, had prepared himself to listen to the words of the apparently dying Turk, when the latter suddenly drawing out a pair of pistols from under the bedclothes, laid him lifeless on the floor. The report of the pistols brought in the attendants of both the Turk and the hospodar, and a murderous conflict might have ensued had not the treacherous assassin hastened to display the imperial warrant, which authorised him to put the hospodar to death in any manner he might think proper, and send his head to Constantinople to figure at the gates of the seraglio, as that of an attainted traitor. Proceeding thence to the divan, he assembled the principal boyars, read to them the sultan's mandate, and exhorted them to pay obedience to the sultan's will.

Caragia knew well enough that it was impossible for him to display too small a zeal for the interests of the sultan in his government of Wallachia without falling into disgrace, nor go through all that was expected of him without incurring the suspicion that, by the means employed to obtain forced supplies for the imperial treasury, he had



not failed to enrich himself. There was therefore every chance against him, and he had judiciously made up his mind to expose himself to none. Before the expiration of the seven years of his government he suddenly quitted Bukorest with every member of his family, and proceeded to Hermanstadt, the nearest frontier town of the Austrian dominions, from whence he sent his resignation to his sublimity, and wished him good luck in the choice of another hospodar. From thence he proceeded to Italy, and fixed himself at Pisa, where he has ever since lived in all the splendour that his wealth will allow.

The boyar Count Toudesko, whose acquaintance I had almost daily opportunities of cultivating, had obtained the hospodar's leave to travel into Germany, and we agreed on proceeding together to Vienna. Possessed as he appeared to be of an inexhaustible fund of high spirits and good-humour, speaking several languages with fluency, and fond of conversation, in which he displayed much wit and information, such a companion on my journey had appeared to me in every way desirable. His grandfather had been the richest boyar in Wallachia. For certain services which he had rendered to the court of Vienna he was created a count of the Roman empire ; but this dignity, which was of



course made hereditary in his family, has never been acknowledged under the Ottoman *régime*; it being contrary to the usages of the country to assume an hereditary title, and to the practice of the sultans openly to acknowledge a right in foreign powers to award titles and distinctions to Ottoman subjects. The present count, though in his fortieth year only when I became acquainted with him, had been married twice, and was already a grandfather. His large fortune, to which he succeeded at an early age, had been considerably impaired by his former prodigality; but although maturer years had gradually checked his career of extravagance, the generosity of his disposition had never been altered, and his house was still among the most hospitable in Bukorest. Having held the highest offices in the government, and being in other respects a man of the first consideration in the principality, he could not think of travelling to the frontiers with a retinue composed of less than a dozen attendants. We started, therefore, with no less than six carriages, each drawn by eight horses. This number of horses, considering the excessive smallness of the race in Wallachia, and the half-famished appearance of those belonging to the whole post establishment of the country, was not excessive; as in Russia the whole expense of posting to the



place of destination is paid on starting, and a written post order is taken, on exhibiting which at every station fresh horses are instantly given. Thus no time is lost in settling accounts at each station, and a small present to every postilion of ten paras\* is all the payment about which the traveller may trouble himself if he pleases. But as the principal boyars have the privilege of travelling free of post expense throughout the principality, my carriage passed as belonging to the count, and payment was dispensed with. This saving, however, was hardly worth making, for the regular charge for post-horses in Wallachia is no more than two piastres† a station of twelve miles for each pair.

The carriage in which I sat with the count was a half-covered landaulet, generally known on the continent by the name of *calèche*; the coachman's box had been taken off, not to obstruct our view; and as we had agreed to travel at an easy rate, I had an opportunity of enjoying a full aspect of the country. It was generally flat, frequently woody, and very well cultivated near the high roads. In the evening we reached the town of Pitesht, distant about fifty miles from Bukorest.

\* Equal to the value of an English penny.

† Equal to eightpence sterling.



We were driven straight to the house of the ispravnic, or intendant of the district, who was in duty bound to give my companion the best reception in his power, and who in fact exerted himself in a manner which seemed to imply that we had done him a vast honour in condescending to make an inn of his dwelling. All our attendants were of course entertained at his expense besides ourselves, and the ispravnic carried his deference so far as to give up his own bed-room, which indeed was the only tolerable one in the house, to my companion. It was at the supper given us by the ispravnic of Pitesht that I tasted for the first time a dish called mamalinga, of which I had heard a great deal, as forming the principal and frequently the only article of food of the Wallachian peasantry. It is made of the flour of Indian wheat, and is not unlike the Venetian polenta. The peasants generally use milk with it instead of broth and minced meat. It is a very agreeable dish, and I should conceive affording quite sufficient nourishment, as the strength and activity of those among whom it is so much in use are not inferior to those of the men who live on meat.

Pitesht is a pretty town, situated in a hilly part of the country, and the only place of any consequence between Bukorest and the Carpathians, from which it is distant only about ten leagues.



All the *noblesse* of the district came on the morning after our arrival to pay their respects to my travelling companion, the ex-chancellor of the principality, and to offer him presents of sweetmeats and liquors. These good people would have loaded our carriages if we had been willing to accept every thing they wished us to take. A grand dinner was given by the ispravnic in honour of his guest, followed by a ball, in which the Wallachian dance predominated. The ladies of Pitesht, though nearer the frontiers of Germany than the ladies of Bukorest, were evidently far behind them in refinement of manners and customs.

Almost immediately after leaving Pitesht we entered into the mountainous country which gradually leads to the Carpathians. The traces of cultivation lessened as we advanced, and after twenty miles travelling, none but small patches of land were to be seen here and there, where the vine and Indian-corn seemed to grow with some difficulty, and were yet at that late period of the season in an imperfect state of maturity. About noon we arrived at the town of Argis, once the residence of the native voïvodes. It is now nothing better than a miserable village, remarkable only for the elegant architecture of its parish church, which the Wallachians justly boast of as one of the most ingenious specimens of the art of



sculpture of the middle age. The church is not a very large edifice, but its outside walls are of a white marble, cut in an exquisite style of workmanship, and crowned with a light frame of the same stone, the transparent work of which gives it a delicacy of appearance which would make it pass for carved ivory. This edifice owes its foundation to Raddo-Negro, the first of the Wallachian voïvodes, and its elegance to the most celebrated Hungarian architect of the day, whom Raddo sent for expressly to Buda to superintend its construction. We spent a couple of hours at the adjoining monastery, the usual residence of the bishop of the district when he comes to visit his see. A very good dinner was provided for us, accompanied with some of the best wine from the bishop's cellar, of an excellent quality. I was surprised to find, among the images of the *ayanas-tasis* in the church, some beautiful paintings—a very unusual circumstance in Greek churches, not only on account of the total ignorance of the modern Greeks, as well as the Wallachians, in the art of painting, but also because a barbarous but peculiar style of painting images had been adopted, which has acquired a sacred character, not easily to be superseded by the refined principles of the art. A Madona by Raphael, or a Christ by Michael Angelo, would be considered



by the Greeks as bearing too great an impression of worldly profaneness to be fit objects for the adoration of the faithful. My travelling companion informed me that the images which had excited my curiosity were a gift to the church by a Russian general who had been quartered in this part of Wallachia for some time, and had married a lady who possessed a considerable estate in the parish. When the Russians were in possession of Wallachia similar innovations on the barbarous usages of the country were practicable, and it happened luckily that the priest who was appointed to the bishopric of Argis after the evacuation was rather above the vulgar prejudices of his co-religionists, so that the handsome images were suffered to continue an ornament to the inside of the church. It was sometimes amusing to hear of improvements in civilisation made by the Wallachians during the five years' stay of the Russian armies among them. Until then I could hardly have supposed that a people existed in all Europe so far behind the Russians as to gain by the example of *their* refinements.

As we advanced into the mountains the roads became gradually worse, and obliged us to slacken our pace. Night overtook us, and it was with the utmost difficulty that we reached, at eight o'clock, the small village of Salatrouk, where we



waited for the return of daylight. Here we had to sleep in our carriages ; for the interior of the wretched hovels which compose this village was too repulsive to allow of our taking rest there. On the following day we entered the worst part of the Carpathians, and soon found it advisable to get out of our carriages and perform this part of our journey on foot. The string of these mountains is certainly the strongest possible barrier that nature could give to one state against another. The road through them is almost imperceptible, and frequently lies on the edge of the most frightful precipices. In many places this road is nearly impassable for carriages : by stopping up these passes in the narrowest parts, the Turks had endeavoured to prevent the approach of the Austrian troops during the last war between those two nations, in 1789. It was, in fact, with the utmost difficulty and danger that the Austrians surmounted these obstacles : but the regular communication could not be re-established without placing in some parts trunks of trees, which, resting at each end on the edges of rocks without being secured, sometimes give way by the pressure or motion of a carriage going over them, by which the vehicle, horses, postilions, and traveller are thrown over precipices, the immense depth of which makes it absolutely impossible to get them



out again, should even any have escaped without having been dashed to pieces. In some parts every thing around presented a frightful aspect. Trunks of trees had been thrown across the road by the effects of the lightning which frequently rages in these regions : enormous masses of rock overhanging on one side, and perpendicular heights bordering the other, whose summits were concealed in the clouds, or crowned with a snowy surface, which they sometimes display the whole year round, presented a wild and awful spectacle, which it is difficult to conceive. Gusts of wind and irresistible torrents carried away masses which would have seemed immovable to the eye. In some places all our attendants, with the aid of fifteen peasants whom we had taken with us from Salatrouk to assist our carriages through these almost impenetrable defiles, were obliged to lift them up for several yards over the masses of rock with which the surface of the road was deeply studded. With the finest weather in the world, we employed a whole day in going from Salatrouk to Kinneny, a distance of about twelve miles. It appears that the fear of being suspected of a desire to prepare this road for the entrance of foreign troops has always prevented the hospodars from putting it in a proper state of repair ; and from prudence or calculation, they will not even



expose themselves to apply for the Porte's authority to do so.

Near Kinneny we crossed the river Olt on a raft. This is the largest river that goes through Wallachia. Its source is in the Austrian part of the Carpathians, at a great distance from Kinneny. After issuing from the intricate passes through which it has formed its bed, the Olt runs in a straight line through the plains of Lower Wallachia, and falls into the Danube at a place called Caracalla, not far from the spot where the remains of Trajan's bridge are still visible. It is a deep and rapid river, over which a communication appears to have been established in ancient times with the interior of the country, if we are to judge from the traces of a Roman brick causeway which runs along its banks from Caracalla to the Carpathians. About two miles beyond this river at Kinneny the Austrian dominions commence. The line of demarcation between the two frontiers is drawn here by a nameless rivulet, the Austrian side of which is marked by a small battery with the imperial flag waving over it, and the appearance of a few soldiers wearing the Austrian uniform. These guardians of the confines are fixed to this part of the country, and follow the avocations of peasants at the same time that they fulfil the duties of soldiers.



In Turkey, where despotism every where prevails in its most hideous form, the foreign traveller enjoys an extent of liberty which really appears incompatible with the established system of restraint. I had never met in that country with any stoppage or annoyance whatever from custom-house officers or from passport inquirers; nor was ever any question asked me by any person in authority as to who I was and whither I was going. I could not therefore help making comparisons between this blessed freedom among barbarians, and the vexatious formalities to which I was subjected the instant that I crossed the rivulet which divided the dominions of a barbarous despot and those of a civilised one. By the scrupulous examination which my passport as well as baggage underwent, one might really have supposed that the guardians of this pass took me for a suspicious person, who possibly might be invading the Austrian empire with a powerful army locked up in his trunks. But the annoyance I experienced was nothing compared with that which my companion was made to undergo. In the first place, all his attendants, excepting one servant mentioned in his passport, were stopped here, and desired to go back. Then his travelling trunks, and the inside of his carriage, underwent a most minute and tedious examination. About half-a-dozen



Cashmere shawls, a necessary appendage to the splendour of his oriental costume, were taken out and carefully packed up, and the seal with the imperial arms was fixed on the parcel, only to be broken at the office of the general customs at Hermanstadt, where the future destination of the shawls was to be determined. Several articles of plate, which he had taken for use on the road, were decidedly objected to, unless he chose to have them broken up and passed as bullion. A supply of Turkey tobacco, also provided for his own use, was protested against with a species of horror, as if its smoke was capable of introducing pestilence into the Austrian atmosphere. We lost at least a couple of hours in undergoing this thorough examination ; but another stoppage of a more serious and unexpected kind awaited us a little further. At the lazaretto of Rothen-Thurn we were informed by the sanitary officers that we must perform a quarantine of five days. In vain did we call the director's attention to that part of our passport in which it was declared that there was at that time no plague in Wallachia. We were told that the government's orders were positive, and must be obeyed. We protested against this rigour of the regulations towards us, when the men on the frontier who had searched



our luggage were apparently exempted from them. Nothing, however, was to be gained by remonstrance, and we patiently submitted to our fate. The lazaretto is built in a very romantic situation. It is composed of between twenty and thirty small houses in a line, but separate from each other, surrounded by small yards, and inclosed by high palings. Each house has two or three rooms, and consists of one floor. These are destined for the travellers, and are assigned, not according to individual rank, but according to the degree of probability of their bringing the contagion with them. There are besides very large warehouses, where all merchandise brought from Wallachia is made to undergo purification. A church, a parsonage, the director's house, the dwellings of all the quarantine and custom-house officers under him, two public-houses, and a building serving as barracks, all constructed on a regular plan, give to the place the appearance of a town in miniature. It is surrounded by high mountains, crowned with forests, and the river Olt runs by the side of it, with a rapidity that occasions a noise similar to that of a torrent. The director of the quarantine has assured me that pieces of the purest gold, of the size of a walnut, have been sometimes deposited on the banks of that river after a very large



accession of the stream from heavy rains near its source. He has also informed me, that coloured precious stones are found among the rocks in some of the least accessible parts of the neighbouring mountains.

It may be easily imagined that our accommodations, in the small house which had been assigned for the five days of our purification, were not exactly of the most comfortable kind. Straw for beds, large deal tables, and a few stools, were all the furniture we found it provided with. My companion could not forgive himself for not having foreseen the possibility of this detention; for if he had done so, he would have sent a waggon before him with beds and carpets, and all the other requisites, with which a Wallachian grandee cannot dispense even for five days. What with the cushions of our two remaining carriages, however, our cloaks, and other casual articles, we contrived to form tolerable beds: our meals were brought very regularly from one of the public-houses, and consisted of well-dressed poultry and game, German-made dishes, eggs, coffee, butter, and good wine. The stock of sweetmeats from Pitesht, and a variety of other delicacies of that description with which my companion had provided himself from home, formed an excellent dessert, and in a short



time we were so reconciled to our imprisonment, that we almost regretted it was only to last five days. At the expiration of that time the director himself came and unlocked the doors of our prison, and invited us to dinner at his house. His wife and daughter received us with the most cordial politeness. The latter was a remarkably well-educated young lady, possessing various accomplishments, and favoured us with some very agreeable performances on the pianoforte. These good people insisted on our staying until the following morning, and the inducement was certainly too great to be withstood. Post-horses were provided for us the next day, and for several miles we travelled through a narrow valley, called the defile of Rothen-Thurn, over a road cut out on the rocks, bordered by a vast precipice, at the bottom of which the river Olt followed its course. The difference of the road in this part of the Carpathians from what it was on the Wallachian side was strikingly great. It was civilisation and barbarism contrasted in a manner more favourable to the former than I had observed on the frontier. This road was made in 1717, during the reign of the Emperor Charles VI., for the purpose of giving facility to the trade with Wallachia. It is kept in excellent repair, and the trees which had



been planted on the edge towards the precipice form a defence which insures against all accidents. We were exactly two hours going through this narrow pass ; at the end of two more we arrived at Hermanstadt.

## CHAPTER XIX.



## CHAPTER XIX.

Transylvania—Hermanstadt—Productions and trade of the country—The Emperor Joseph's efforts to civilise the gipsies—Visit to Baron Bruckenthal—His splendid mansion—Visit from Manouk-Bey, and some account of his adventures—The state-prison—The theatre—Amusements of the people—Comparisons between them and the Wallachians—Departure from Hermanstadt.

TRANSYLVANIA, surnamed the kingdom of forests, is bordered on the north by the district of Maramosh, on the east by Moldavia, on the south by Wallachia, and on the west by the Bannat of Temeswar. It was formerly an independent principality, paying a tribute to the kings of Hungary, and was first annexed to the Germanic empire at the time that the Hungarian crown was assumed by the imperial family. Since the beginning of the last century it has been usually governed by a general appointed by the court of Vienna. Its capital, Hermanstadt, is a very fine town, the houses in which



are all built in the modern style of European architecture. The streets are wide, regular, and well paved. A great number of gardens have been formed in the interior as well as in the neighbourhood of the town, which give it a very pleasant aspect. In the month of May a fair of some importance is held in Hermanstadt, which attracts crowds of persons from the adjacent provinces, and many dealers come even from the distant cities of Vienna and Leipsic for the purpose of selling their own wares, and buying in return the productions of the country, consisting in corn, wool, tobacco, and minerals extracted in great abundance and variety from the neighbouring mountains. Cattle of all descriptions are also exhibited at this fair: the sheep and oxen are as fine as those of Ukrania, and the horses, though of a small breed, are full of spirit, and capable of undergoing great fatigue.

A large stock of various kinds of utensils of copper and iron, especially of nails, is always brought to the fair of Hermanstadt, and disposed of there by the gipsies inhabiting Transylvania;—a race whom I meet in all countries, and in all places where money is likely to be gained. It is surprising that the Transylvanian tribes have withstood the numberless and tyrannical persecutions to which they were exposed under the reigns



of the native princes. At that period gipsies were held in abhorrence by the Christian natives, who firmly believed that they lived on human flesh, and that they were in the habit of stealing children for the purpose of making food of them. Whenever a child or grown person was missing, the gipsies were hunted and burnt alive, on the mere supposition that it was a case of abduction and murder, of which they had been the perpetrators. The Emperor Joseph II. had, among other plans of reform, formed that of civilising the gipsies within his dominions, and making useful subjects of them. He therefore published a decree, by which severe punishments were denounced against those who should be convicted of persecuting them, caused many of their children to be educated in public schools at the expense of the government, and declared them equally eligible to public employments with the other subjects of the empire. But the too early death of that philosophic monarch put a stop to his philanthropic efforts, and the gipsies were thrown back to that abject state from which he would no doubt have withdrawn them entirely, had he lived to consolidate the good he had in view. The gipsies are no longer subject to barbarous persecutions as formerly, but they have again been thrown so far out of the pale of social order, as to



be amenable neither to imposts nor to the conscription.

A great number of Greeks reside in Hermanstadt: they wear a costume peculiar to themselves, differing in many respects from that which is generally worn in Greece, Turkey, and Wallachia, but not less rich and elegant. Many of them, especially those who are naturalised, have adopted the costume of the country. Some of these Greeks follow the profession of trade; others are landholders in Transylvania, and therefore classed with the nobility of the province.

We went to visit the splendid mansion of the Baron de Bruckenthal, celebrated in the province for the magnificent gardens which surround it, and the library of sixty thousand volumes it contains, among which are many Arabian and other valuable manuscripts. The baron's house might be called a cabinet of curiosities, and is well worth being seen by every scientific traveller who may direct his steps to that part of the world. He does the honours of it in the same willing and obliging manner that our old traveller Denon does those of the museum, into which his residence in Paris has been converted. The baron has made a splendid collection of pictures from the best masters of the old and modern schools, and of an immense variety of numismatic curiosities. His



collection of medals is perhaps the most extensive and complete of any in Europe ; for, independently of Greek and Roman coins, he has procured coins of the reigns of all the emperors of Germany, kings of Hungary, and princes of Transylvania. The mere intrinsic worth of this collection must amount to an immense sum. A great variety of arms, showing the mode of destruction used in the wars of almost all ages, are symmetrically arranged in one of the rooms. I observed some very handsome Damascus sabres, the purport of the Arabic characters on which was explained to us by the count, who seemed well versed in oriental languages. This brought on a conversation on the celebrity of the Damascus blades, and I spoke of one which my friend Mr. Gordon had presented me with at Constantinople, which was esteemed of some value. The count expressed curiosity to see it, and one of his servants was immediately despatched for it to our hotel. The letters on the blade proved that it was originally the property of Sultan Soliman, surnamed Kanouny, for having introduced the use of cannon in Turkey, and better known in history by the appellation of Soliman the Magnificent.

On our taking leave, the baron gave us a pressing invitation to repeat our visit on the following day, in order to resume the inspection of the



curiosities with which his establishment abounds. It would have taken a week to form a proper notion of them. The baron is one of the richest members of the Transylvanian nobility. He is a man of very extensive information, cultivating arts and sciences, and delighting in botany.

On our return home from the baron's we received a visit from Manouk-Bey, an old acquaintance of the count Toudesko. This personage had figured conspicuously on the political scene in Turkey, and, like many other subjects of the sultan of any note, had nearly paid the price of his notoriety with his head. He was an Armenian, formerly established as a banker at Roustchiouk, where he became connected in matters of business with the celebrated Mustapha Baïractar, who, after his elevation to the post of grand vizier, invited him to transfer his residence to the capital. Manouk realised a very large fortune during the short period of his patron's administration; but, fortunately for him, at the time of the latter's fall he happened to be at Roustchiouk, where he had gone to facilitate the passage over the Danube of a quantity of gold in bars, to an immense value, which he was sending on a joint speculation with the vizier into Wallachia and Moldavia. Manouk no sooner learnt the death of the vizier, and the particulars of the revolution which had occasioned



it, than he crossed the Danube himself, well aware of the personal risk he should incur by remaining a single moment within the reach of the adherents to the triumphant party. It was a still luckier circumstance for him that the greater portion of his own wealth happened to be in so handy a shape at his command, at so critical a moment, and therefore enabled him to save it from the grasp of his patron's successor, who would not have failed to strip him of all he was worth, by way of showing to the janissaries his own detestation of every thing connected with the late vizier. Manouk repaired to Bukorest, where, in the persuasion that the principality would never be restored to the Turks by the Russians, he made up his mind to fix himself, and purchased houses and lands in consequence. When peace was signed, and Wallachia passed once more under the dominion of Turkey, Manouk was called upon by the Porte to pay forthwith into the imperial treasury the whole sum belonging to the former vizier, Mustapha Bâiractar, with which he had absconded into Wallachia. Not having evinced a ready disposition to obey this summons, a capigeebashee was sent to Bukorest to take off his head without further ceremony, and to sequester the whole of his property there. But Manouk was too well acquainted with the Turk-



ish mode of disposing of similar affairs not to have secured himself against all danger. Before the arrival of the capigee he had remitted all his money into Austria ; and availing himself of the stipulation entered into in the treaty of Bukorest, which entitled every resident of Wallachia and Moldavia to declare himself a Russian subject within eighteen months from the date of the treaty, provided he engaged to retire into Russia at the expiration of that term, he had claimed the Russian protection. As a further precaution, he had taken temporary refuge in the house of the Russian consul, where he still was when the sultan's missionary arrived in search of his head and money. Manouk-Bey could not think himself safe even for a moment on the sultan's territory, after what had occurred ; therefore he repaired with every possible expedition to Hermanstadt, where we found him still waiting for leave from the Russian government finally to proceed to Russia, and fix himself in that country. This permission he obtained some time after, and the title of prince (the literal meaning of bey) as well as the rank of councillor of state, were added in the imperial rescript which conferred on him the rights of Russian naturalisation.

Among the curiosities of Hermanstadt to which our attention had been directed, one of the most



remarkable was a state-prison in the neighbourhood of the town, where those of the emperor's subjects *suspected* of treasonable intentions against the government were immured for a more or less extended period of their existence. It is a regular fortress, standing in a situation which the celebrated philanthropist Howard might have wished to every prison in the world. Neither its external nor internal appearance would indicate the purpose to which this fortress is exclusively devoted. Five prisoners only had inhabited it for many years. One of them had died in the preceding month after sixteen years' detention. We expressed a wish to see the room he had occupied, and were conducted to it without difficulty. It was situated on the highest floor of a tower which forms one of the angles of the building. The view from the iron-barred windows extended to a picturesque part of the country, and the walls of the room were covered with sketches, in imitation of the landscape scenes within the eye's reach, in the various forms produced by the different seasons. Verses in French were also written on the walls, chiefly expressive of the prisoner's sense of the injustice of a sentence of perpetual privation of liberty, passed against him for offences with which he had never been made acquainted, and on the danger of intrusting into the hands of individuals



called kings the power of disposing of the lives and liberties of their fellow-creatures, according to the suggestions of passion, caprice, or personal interest. I copied the following apostrophe to the despots whose arbitrary attributes are still suffered by mankind to disgrace the name of civilisation:—"Rulers of mankind, who acknowledge no law but that which you yourselves impose, far from thinking it a duty to be just, you are not even humane. On every imaginary state expediency, you dispose of us as cattle, you slander and dishonour us without right, without anger, and without any contemptuous feeling ; and because blind fate has brought us under your notice, you crush us that you may not have to answer for your iniquities." The jailer seemed to know nothing of the history of this prisoner, nor of the cause for which he had been placed under his custody. He believed him to be a native of Belgium, and a superior officer. Contrary to the general practice of prisoners, he never uttered a complaint aloud ; and, in appearance, he was perfectly resigned to his fate. During the first seven years of his detention a woman regularly visited him three times a week : but she suddenly discontinued her visits, "and," added the jailer, "since then I have been the only soother of his sorrows." We



did not conceive a very favourable notion of the success of any consolatory attempts from such a quarter.

On our expressing a desire to visit the other four prisoners in the fortress, the jailer informed us that without a written order from the governor of the province he could not introduce any strangers into their dungeons. “What!” said I, “are they immured in dungeons?”—“Yes,” answered the jailer, “they are to remain there as long as their healths will allow, and the order of the chancery of state requires.” Their offences were not better known to their keeper than those of the prisoner who had lately died in his custody; but it is well known that the only crime for which the subjects of the country are liable to imprisonment here is that of being deeply tainted with political sentiments in direct opposition to those which the government requires of the governed for the due maintenance of its authority, and of the unlimited power arrogated by the crown. Deploable as was the existence of such an establishment, it appeared to me surprising that the faculty of having recourse to it should have been so sparingly used.

I do not believe that there is a space in any other part of the world of the extent of Transyl-



vania that is occupied by individuals belonging to so many different nations as is the case with that province. There are twelve distinct communities there ; among which the national spirit, the original costume, and the native customs and manners are faithfully preserved. They all live on terms of the most perfect intelligence with each other.

We visited several manufacturing establishments, which appeared to be in a very flourishing condition. Those of hats and woollen cloths afforded evidence that they formed a very extensive branch of the commerce of the province. In the evening we went to take coffee at one of the pretty *guinguettes* with which the outskirts of Hermanstadt abound. A great number of persons from the class of *bourgeoisie* were enjoying the recreations peculiar to the place. Every one seemed as it were to feel his own existence, and enjoyed his happiness. Groups of labourers and workmen of all kinds were to be seen scattered over the extensive lawn, drinking the excellent wine of Transylvania, and singing or engaged in animated and amusing conversation. "This scene," I observed to the count, "forms a singular contrast with the assemblages among your Wallachian peasants, who are ever exhausting themselves with the excess of labour without even a chance of satisfying the cupidity of their masters. Your peasants are hardly to be classed



among our species. Treated like beasts, they are incapable of conceiving what human happiness consists of. If you have not the power of depriving them of life, you possess that of inflicting torments on them which are but an extension of the agony of death. They never retire to their night's rest without having to deplore the loss of their day's earnings, which the vultures in men's clothing are always wresting from their hands."—"Indeed," replied the count, "they have frequently occasion at night to deplore the folly which has urged them to sell their wretched mattress in order to spend the money at the brandy shop. Do you really suppose that the lower classes in other parts of Europe enjoy a greater share of happiness than those of Wallachia? Did you ever meet with a beggar in that country? At all events our peasants are not slaves. They have ceased to be such since the year 1736, when Mavrocordato very properly abolished the system. Your friends, the Russians, and Poles, cannot say as much in proof of the progress of civilisation among them."—"I would wish you to wait, my dear count," said I, "until you will have had the means of judging from the evidence of your own senses. All I could say would not do as much as an hour's comparison."—"What I should see," rejoined the count, "would never convince me that the system



of slavery is more conducive to happiness than an arbitrary exercise of authority among a people who are not slaves. Your philosophers need not have wandered far for examples of human degradation and misery. They might have found among contiguous nations specimens of a much worse description than the condition of black colonists. To their philanthropic efforts many immortal achievements are certainly due ; but is it not strange that they should have espoused the cause of men of a different colour from theirs, and totally overlooked the rights of those of their own religion and colour ? I am well aware that there are many individuals among this unfortunate class who are allowed the means of acquiring wealth, and who live in comfort and luxury secured to them by the sacredness of established custom. But their condition is not the less deplorable. I have heard of a serf of Count Scheremetoff offering his master as much as 300,000 silver roubles (upwards of a million of francs) for the purchase of his liberty, and that by a revolting excess of pride, hardly credible, Scheremetoff refused to give liberty to so wealthy a slave. The knout, and punishments of other kinds, even that of death under certain circumstances, are awarded to all according to the humour or caprice of the master, and the prospect of future liberty is



never greater among them than among the negro slaves."

The count had taken a view of the subject against which nothing could be adduced in argument. I yielded to his observations: nevertheless, the conviction on my mind that the peasantry of his country were far more oppressed and degraded than those of the Russian empire, remained unimpaired. My means of comparison had been too recent and too ample to have left me in a situation of forming an incorrect judgment.

In the evening we proceeded to the theatre, where a company of German comedians played the Marriage of Figaro with far greater accuracy than might have been expected. The size of the house is suited to the population of the place, and its decorations were of a rich and elegant description—a quality which appears to me quite superfluous among the internal arrangements of a theatre, so long as the bad custom prevails in Germany of keeping it in an almost complete state of darkness.

On the following day we resumed our progress towards Vienna, having previously arranged the plan of our journey, and fixed upon the places at which we should stop at night.



## CHAPTER XX.

Some particulars relative to post-travelling between Hermanstadt and Vienna—Reïsmark—Mullenbach—Sheebot—Roman costume worn by the peasants—French colonists on the Wolga—Deva—Manner in which the Jews are treated in Austria—Wars between the Transylvanian princes and the German emperors—Fagett—Some account of a numerous band of robbers who long infested the country—Temesvar—Kleïnbeshelett—Shadatt—Komlosh—Mockrine—Seggedin—Shatmar—Petteny—Felitch-laza—Packa—Keshkemmett—Feldéack—Erkenney—Inatch—Soroksan—Arrival at Pest.

BEFORE I proceed to a description of every place worthy of any notice on the road between Hermanstadt and Vienna, it may not be unnecessary to give a list of the stations at which fresh post-horses are obtained, with the number of posts at which every station is reckoned and paid for. Here, as in most of the other parts of Germany, the distance of a post is fixed at two



German miles,\* equal nearly to as many French leagues :—

|                                                                                                             | Posts.          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Hermanstadt to Setchel . . . .                                                                              | 1               |
| Setchel to Reïsmark . . . .                                                                                 | 1               |
| Reïsmark to Mullenbach . . . .                                                                              | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Mullenbach to Sheebot . . . .                                                                               | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Sheebot to Sashvarosh . . . .                                                                               | 1               |
| Sashvarosh to Deva . . . .                                                                                  | 1               |
| Deva to Lesnec . . . .                                                                                      | 1               |
| Lesnec to Dobra . . . .                                                                                     | 1               |
| Dobra to Sotchet . . . .                                                                                    | 1               |
| Sotchet to Kossova . . . .                                                                                  | 1               |
| Kossova to Fagett (last station for four horses, the post-horses being excellent from hence onward) . . . . | 1               |
| Fagett to Bozour (frontier of Transylvania) . . . .                                                         | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Bozour to Lobosh . . . .                                                                                    | 1               |
| Lobosh to Kizett . . . .                                                                                    | 1               |
| Kizett to Rekash . . . .                                                                                    | 2               |
| Rekash to Temesvar . . . .                                                                                  | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Temesvar to Kleïnbeshkelett . . . .                                                                         | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Kleïnbeshkelett to Shadatt . . . .                                                                          | 1               |
| Shadatt to Komlosh . . . .                                                                                  | 1               |
| Komlosh to Mockrine . . . .                                                                                 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

\* A German mile is equal to two and a half English.



|                                                                                                                                                    | Posts.          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Mockrine to Kanigian (ferry) . . . . .                                                                                                             | 1               |
| Kanigian to Korgos . . . . .                                                                                                                       | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Korgos to Seggedin (a fortified town ;<br>passports exhibited here to the com-<br>mandant, which detains the traveller<br>about an hour) . . . . . | 1               |
| Seggedin to Shatmar . . . . .                                                                                                                      | 1               |
| Shatmar to Kishteleck . . . . .                                                                                                                    | 1               |
| Kishteleck to Petteny . . . . .                                                                                                                    | 1               |
| Petteny to Felitch-haza . . . . .                                                                                                                  | 1               |
| Felitch-haza to Packa . . . . .                                                                                                                    | 1               |
| Packa to Keshkemmett . . . . .                                                                                                                     | 1               |
| Keshkemmett to Feldéack . . . . .                                                                                                                  | 1               |
| Feldéack to Erkenny . . . . .                                                                                                                      | 1               |
| Erkenny to Inatch . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 1               |
| Inatch to Otcha . . . . .                                                                                                                          | 1               |
| Otcha to Soroksan . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 1               |
| Soroksan to Pest (the Danube crossed<br>here over a bridge of boats) . . . . .                                                                     | 1               |
| Pest to Vereshvar . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Vereshvar to Dorogass . . . . .                                                                                                                    | 1               |
| Dorogass to Neudorff . . . . .                                                                                                                     | 1               |
| Neudorff to Nessemulh . . . . .                                                                                                                    | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Nessemulh to Komorn . . . . .                                                                                                                      | 1               |
| Komorn to Atch . . . . .                                                                                                                           | 1               |
| Atch to Gayny . . . . .                                                                                                                            | 1               |
| Gayny to Raab . . . . .                                                                                                                            | 1               |
| Raab to Hoshtrass . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |



|                                                                                                                            | Posts. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Hoshtrass to Weiselbourg . . . .                                                                                           | 1      |
| Weiselbourg to Kaggendorff . . . .                                                                                         | 1      |
| Kaggendorff to Kittsay . . . .                                                                                             | 1      |
| Kittsay to Haïmbourg (frontier place of<br>the duchy of Austria : travellers are<br>here visited by custom-house officers) | 1      |
| Haïmbourg to Riggelsbroon . . . .                                                                                          | 1      |
| Riggelsbroon to Fishament . . . .                                                                                          | 1      |
| Fishament to Sweishatt . . . .                                                                                             | 1      |
| Sweishatt to Vienna . . . .                                                                                                | 1      |
|                                                                                                                            | —      |
| Total posts . . . .                                                                                                        | 57     |

The rate of postage throughout the Austrian empire is fixed at 3fl. 20kr. the pair of horses for each post, and 1fl. 36kr. for dringelt to the postilion. Owing to the hilly and bad roads of Transylvania and to the smalness of the post-horses, two pair are required for an ordinary sized four-wheel carriage from Hermanstadt to Faggett; and again from Erkenny to Keshkemmett, in Hungary, three horses are necessary, the road being excessively sandy. With these extra horses, the whole expense of postage from Hermanstadt to Vienna for one carriage, including the postilion's dringelt, will be found to amount to 354 florins, a sum equal to 462 francs.\* Post-

\* About eighteen pounds sterling.



ing in the Austrian empire is not, therefore, less expensive than it is in France or other parts of Europe. As these details are more particularly given for the benefit of those of my readers who may feel disposed to visit the distant parts to which they relate, I may add for their further information that the more the traveller advances into Hungary from Vienna, the less he will find the inns and other places of accommodation on the road calculated for comfort. In the villages and minor towns of Hungary, indeed, he will meet with no accommodations of any kind; nor will he find it an easy matter to get provisions at all. It is therefore advisable to procure a stock of necessaries at every considerable town where any are to be obtained. Not having travelled through Hungary previous to the time of which I am here recording the incidents, both my travelling companion and I were often put to serious inconvenience through our want of experience. We were frequently under the necessity of applying to the postmasters for the means of quenching our thirst. They readily offered us their best wine; but as they considered themselves officers of the state, it never occurred to us at first that any payment was expected for the refreshment afforded: we should have thought that an offer of money for so trifling a purpose would have been taken as an



insult by these proud Hungarians. But we soon perceived, by the frowns with which our thanks were received, that these people were not disposed to exercise their hospitality gratuitously ; therefore we made it subsequently a rule to offer money for every trifle we were under the necessity of applying for to the imperial postmasters, and it was never refused.

The first place of any note to which we came after leaving Hermanstadt was Reïsmark. It is a pretty town, very agreeably situated, and has to boast of an university, in which the Calvinist youths of Transylvania and Hungary complete their studies in different branches of learning. The Count Tekely, one of the richest landowners of the district, resides at Reïsmark. Like his countryman, the Baron Bruckenthall, he has devoted himself almost entirely to literary pursuits, and his library is considered one of the most splendid and complete in the Austrian empire. It is said that a great portion of his ample revenue is devoted to the purchase of new as well as old publications. A curious custom prevails among the inhabitants of Reïsmark of putting up inscriptions above the doors of their dwellings, expressive of some homely sentiment. I remember reading over one of the doors,—“ May we never want bread, nor the freedom of enjoying our domestic



comforts!" This put me in mind of the Polish inscription in letters of gold over the entrance of the palace of Toulchin. Thus among the most humble the same thought occurred as among the most exalted. The only difference was in the mode of expressing it.

Over the eastern gate of the little town of Mullenbach a piece of sculpture is to be seen, representing a coffin supported by four lances. It was placed there to illustrate the patriotism displayed by its inhabitants in 1555. When the place was summoned to surrender to the arms of the triumphant vizier Mehmet-Pasha, some of them proceeded with great solemnity to the vizier's camp, carrying a coffin on their shoulders, which they placed on four pikes at a short distance from his tent, in token of their determination rather to die than become slaves. The bearers were respected; but they were sent back with the intimation that the place would be taken by storm, and all its inhabitants put to the sword. The storming did in fact take place; but the Turks met with a repulse which cost them several thousand men; and they were ultimately compelled to desist.

Sheebot is the name of an isolated house with extensive dependencies, serving as one of the extensive farms designated by the name of *poustas*



in the country. It is situated in a land abounding in rich pastures, and is the largest establishment for rearing cattle in Transylvania. The most numerous species to be found here is the buffalo, whose hide and horns are important articles of the commerce of the country. There is a species of sheep peculiar to the spot, distinguished from the rest by the extraordinary size and shape of the horns. Their wool is very long and silky, and capable of being worked in a very superior manner. In the midst of the yard of the farm of Sheebot stands an acacia tree of an immense size. I should hardly have expected to find any of the kind at all in those regions. A corrupted Latin dialect, resembling the Wallachian, is spoken throughout Transylvania. The dress of the peasants is nearly that of the peasantry of the Roman empire. A tunick of white cloth, reaching down to the knees, where it is bordered with a broad piece of coloured wool, is fastened to the waist by a leathern belt. The trousers gradually tightened, descend in folds to the ancles, and the sandals are made of goatskin, secured by a profusion of strings to the foot. The hair is all driven backwards, and cut round, so as not to cover the hind part of the neck, which is left entirely bare.

The preservation of this costume after the lapse



of so many centuries is a remarkable circumstance amongst these descendants of a Roman race. It evinces the invariable stability of things where civilisation has not introduced the fickleness and caprice of fashion. This faithful adherence to the costume of former ages recalled to my memory the curious fact that there is a village on the borders of the Wolga the inhabitants of which speak no other language but French, and are dressed exactly according to the costume worn in France during the reign of Louis XIV., without excepting the voluminous wig then in use. They are the descendants of some French refugees, who, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, fled with their families to those regions, where they fixed themselves, and lived by agricultural pursuits. Some of these villagers regularly attend the annual fair of Makarieff, where they carry on traffic to a considerable extent with the Hindoos.

Deva is most charmingly situated at the foot of a steep hill, whose summit is crowned with the ruins of a fortress, the demolition of which took place on the invasion of the Mongols, under the Hungarian king Bela IV. The singularity of the gothic style of architecture, of which the ruins of this fortress still afford abundant specimens, greatly excited our curiosity. Nothing can be



more opposed to the modes of defence adopted since the discovery of gunpowder. The district of Deva is celebrated for the beauty of the women who inhabit it, a circumstance which must afford a relieving contrast to travellers coming *from* Hungary, where female beauty among the class of peasantry is by no means a national characteristic. A great number of Jews reside at Deva and its neighbourhood. Their race is not in favour with the Austrian government, whose delegates keep them every where under the strictest *surveillance*. A tax called *tolerance* is levied on them for the privilege of residing in the Austrian dominions; but they are not allowed to fix themselves near any of the mines, nor in frontier towns. In its distrust of the Jews, however, the Austrian government seems to have forgotten that their dealings in precious metals always aim at the possession of what is coined. The number of Jews inhabiting Transylvania and Hungary amounts to 150,000.

The country between Deva and the little town of Lesnec derives great interest from the remarkable beauty of the scenery, which varies at every step, and from its having been the theatre of many a bloody contest between the princes of Transylvania and the emperors of Germany. Among the heroes who distinguished themselves



in the defence of their country, the names of Tekely and Ragotzi hold a prominent rank. All Europe is more or less acquainted with the history of the former; the latter rather than submit to the degradation of living as a private individual in a country over which he had so long been the legitimate sovereign, withdrew with several of his courtiers into the dominions of the sultan, and spent the remainder of his days in the obscure town of Rodosto, situated on the borders of the Hellespont. It was a Count de Bussy who conducted the last military operations against the Transylvanians. He was related to Bussy Rabutin, the celebrity of whose amorous history of the Gauls became too great for his tranquillity. The greater part of the inhabitants of Lesnec are Socinians.

Fagett is a town of some note on account of the vicinity of some saline springs, and extensive quarries of very good marble. One half of its population are descendants of a colony of Saxons, who settled there under the auspices of St Stephen, the first legislator of Hungary. They live almost apart from the other inhabitants of the place; their chief occupation consists in the cultivation of the mulberry tree, the leaves of which are appropriated exclusively to the use of the silkworms, which are found to prosper here better



than in other parts of Transylvania or Hungary. At a small eating-shop, which is dignified with the appellation of an inn, we were charged an exorbitant price for a very wretched dinner. This, we afterwards found, was owing to the indiscretion of one of our servants, in telling the hostess that my companion was no less a personage than the high chancellor of Wallachia. "I suppose eggs must be very scarce in your neighbourhood," said the Emperor Joseph to a Swiss peasant, who, having discovered his rank in spite of his incognito, had the impudence to ask twenty-five gold ducats for an omlet. "No, sire," answered the Swiss knave, "eggs are not scarce, but emperors are very uncommon." Considering that the man had to deal with a crowned head, there is no wonder in his having sought to make the most of his eggs on that occasion. Although a far more humble individual, I remember a case very much resembling that of the omlet, which occurred to myself. Having one day halted at an inn in a small and unfrequented town in Champagne, I ordered a couple of mutton chops, for which the hostess charged the modest sum of twenty-five francs ! It was amusing to hear her enumeration of all the appendages to the mutton chops which I *ought* to have had. To sum up all, she said that travellers were so scarce that it could not



he expected she should charge a mere trifle for one of my appearance! Of course I resisted the demand with less good-humour than the Emperor Joseph might have done, and I got off by paying ten francs, about nine more than the regular price.

The road from Fagett to Lobosh (two and a half posts) had some years ago been rendered extremely unsafe, in consequence of its being made the scene of operations of a band of brigands, who for a long time hovered about the confines of Transylvania, and of the Bannat of Temesvar. After a great number of fruitless efforts to find out the place of their retreat, it was discovered in a curious way. A shepherd from the neighbouring mountains was observed to come to Lobosh regularly once a week, and buy up a large quantity of wine, which he took back with him. Suspicion was at last awakened by the frequency and regularity of his purchases, and he was one day seized and brought before the governor of the district, who, by dint of threats and promises, succeeded in extorting from him the avowal that he was the purveyor of the troop of robbers who had so long infested the neighbourhood. It appeared from his statement that their number was about one hundred, and that the place of their retreat and concealment was one of the extensive



caverns of which a great number exists in this part of Transylvania. They had so fortified the entrance of this cavern, that it appeared to the governor that the lives of a great number of the assailants must be sacrificed by any open attack on it. Stratagem was therefore resolved on. The shepherd received a positive promise of oblivion on his past conduct, and of a pension for life of a hundred florins if he would co-operate with the governor, and not let the robbers suspect that they had been betrayed. Glad enough to save his neck on such terms, he promised to do every thing that would be required of him ; and as a guarantee for his good faith, he placed his wife and children as hostages into the governor's hands. He was then ordered to proceed to the cavern, with the accustomed supply of wine, into which a sufficient quantity of opium was infused. The banditti got drunk as usual, and when they awoke on the following morning they found themselves within the walls of the prison of Lobosh. They were afterwards hung in chains on the very mountain under which was situated the cavern they had selected as their habitation. We saw at a distance the numerous gibbets on which their remains were still exposed, and requested our postilions to drive near to the place ; but they still laboured so much under the influence of the



terror which had been excited by the late depredations, that they would not on any account comply with our desire. At almost every step wooden crosses are seen planted on the sides of the road in commemoration of blood spilt there by the brigands.

Lobosh is a pretty and well-built town. Its inhabitants are chiefly employed in the manufacture of hats of an inferior description, used by the class of peasants only. The wine of Lobosh has some celebrity in the country: we were assured by the keeper of a small inn at which we took some refreshment that the quality of the Lobosh wine was far superior to that of Tokay; and, by way of showing his conviction on the subject, he charged an extravagant price for what we drank.

The best road we had yet come to was from Lobosh to Kizett. It lies chiefly close to the banks of the canal of Bega, which has been cut across the whole Bannat of Temesvar, for the purpose of establishing a communication between that river to the Atemech. This canal serves for the transport of forest timber, and the marble dug out of the quarries of Fagett.

A stay of three days which we made at Temesvar, for the purpose of obtaining some knowledge of the place, was not productive of all the grati-



fication we had anticipated. As the capital of Upper Hungary, we expected to find it a town of respectable appearance ; but this was by no means the case. Few of its houses have more than two stories in height, and the greater number have no more than one floor. Temesvar, however, was in the possession of the Turks until the early part of the last century, and that circumstance may account for many of its actual imperfections. It was taken from the Turks in 1716 by Prince Eugene. The streets are not paved, and the shops are of a mean appearance. There is a park at a short distance from the town, which is resorted to as a promenade by the inhabitants. Its plan seems to have been taken from the Prater of Vienna ; but among the promenaders of the fair sex there were but few who could add to its other attractions. Hardly one among fifty was to be found who could justly set forth any claims to beauty. The greater number were even worse than plain. Among the public places of amusement, the theatre of Temesvar stands foremost. It is a far more elegant building than might have been expected, and the company then performing were far superior to the ordinary rank of theatrical strollers in Austria. They played German comedies, tragedies, and farces, and Schiller's best pieces were given by them with great accuracy



and effect. We put up at the sign of the *Three Kings*, in which we found very good accommodation. A very convenient custom is observed there, which is worthy of being adopted in every inn throughout Europe. At the door of every one of the rooms a printed list is fixed giving the price of the lodgings, and of every thing which lodgers may require in the house. This enables every lodger to regulate his expense according to his means, and to pay that which he has incurred without the risk of being taken advantage of by the landlord.

On entering the village of Kleinbeshkelett, which is two and a half posts distant from Temesvar, we met a wedding procession, which put my travelling companion into a very good humour, as he augured favourably from that circumstance for the remaining part of our journey. A great number of young girls, dressed in white, and wearing on their heads garlands of flowers, followed the bride with a dancing step, the time being regulated by tunes performed on four or five bagpipes, the players of which were at the head of the *cortége*. The poor bride herself was both ugly and deformed, and she wore a head-dress which was by no means calculated to enhance the charms of any woman having a greater claim to beauty. A high and narrow bonnet, made of sky-blue velvet, was surmounted with a thick bunch of



peacock's feathers, the whole of which measured perhaps twice the length of her person.

The wine made at Kleinbeshkelett is greatly esteemed in Hungary ; but, like most of the wines of that country, it is of a thin kind, and I fear would not pass among the inhabitants of northern Europe as possessing qualities of a superior description. But a *liqueur* called slivowitza, which is also made there, deserves a more decided tribute of praise than it is in my power to pay to the wine. We found it delicious, and superior to any that we had yet tasted. It is manufactured with the juice of prunes.

Shadatt, the station next to Kleinbeshkelett, is remarkable for being the *depôt* from whence the article of salt is supplied to the whole kingdom of Hungary, not less than for the extraordinary manner in which that article is produced. There is in the immediate neighbourhood an extensive but shallow lake, the extreme whiteness of whose water has conferred on it the name of 'Lake of Snow.' This lake is very frequently drained, and never fails, five hours after it has been emptied, to fill up again. The water taken away is dried in the sun, and leaves the whitest and finest salt any where produced. Shadatt was in former times a town of some importance ; but at the close of the fifteenth century, during the war



between Mathias Corvin and the Bohemians, it was taken and destroyed, and its inhabitants were put to the sword. The small number who had taken refuge into some mines of copper, which then existed in the neighbourhood, were put to death by means of the smoke of straw set on fire at the entrance for the purpose of suffocating them.

A peculiar quality of wine is made at Komlosh, the place to which the traveller proceeds after quitting Shadatt. That country, indeed, abounds in wines, and the natives look upon them as the finest in the world. They have perhaps acquired that notion from the celebrity which their Tokay has obtained in some parts of Europe. Similarly to the too renowned Clos-Vougeot of Burgundy, the wine of Tokay is produced from vineyards planted within a space which does not extend beyond four leagues in length and two in breadth. The vine grows on the sloping of a steep hill, whose surface is constantly exposed to the action of the sun, and which on every side is well protected against the wind. This hill, called Hegy-Allia, is connected with a chain of mountains that form a branch of the Carpathians. A great deal of wine is produced in the neighbourhood of Hegy-Allia, which also goes under the name of Tokay ; but the process of making it is different ; and it is this, as well as the exclusive



advantages of locality which give that of Hegy-Allia a very great superiority over the other qualities. The grapes of that vineyard, after being suffered to reach the most perfect point of maturity, are suspended in nets over large tubs, into which the juice is suffered to drip without any pressure. The next quality of Tokay wine is that which is produced by a slight pressure of the grape; and the third quality is that which has undergone the ordinary process of wine making. The first, more particularly distinguished by the appellation of Ausbruch, is almost wholly monopolised by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and by a few of the richest magnates of Hungary. Hardly any of it is to be had at Tokay itself, and what is to be met with there is seldom sold at a smaller rate than ten florins the pint-bottle. I remember tasting some very old prime Tokay at the Countess Potocka's in Toulchin, which, she assured me, had cost the exorbitant price of one hundred florins the bottle. It possessed the most exquisite flavour, and had more the appearance of a *liqueur* than wine. The wines of Hungary which enjoy the greatest celebrity in the country, after the Tokay, are those of Odenburgh, Rust, St. George, Offen, Erlau, and Mench.

The town of Seggedin, to which we came in due course, is large but not well built. It is



crossed by the Theisse, which is said to be the river abounding most in fish in all Europe. Its source is in the mountains of Maramosh, and it begins to be navigable at a couple of miles from that spot. The river Maros joins the Theisse a little beyond the gates of Seggedin, and their waters are ultimately deposited into the Danube between Semlin and Peterwarradin. An extensive commerce in grain and cattle is carried on in Seggedin; but notwithstanding its opulence and an industrious population of 28,000, it has such an appearance of neglect, and its houses are so scattered and wretched, that one would rather imagine the place to hold an humble rank, than to be, as it is, classed among the principal and royal cities of Hungary.

A Mr. Ritter, holding a place of councillor of finance, whose acquaintance we formed at Seggedin, brought us a book which he had recently caused to be printed, on the statistical state of Hungary. I gathered from its contents, that the revenues of the kingdom arise from the produce of the mines, from the imposts on individuals, from property in cattle and lands, and from the duties levied on articles of commerce. The personal taxes are levied on the *bourgeoisie* and peasantry exclusively: those who are admitted to the class of nobility are exempted from them; but the



nobility make up for the deficiency occasioned by this exemption by occasional property taxes on themselves, devised and regulated according to the means of each, by the members of the Hungarian diet, or legislative council. The nobility also bear the expenses of foreign war.

In the little town of Felitch-haza we put up at a very neat and comfortable inn, the sign of the Swan, where the nuptials of one of the principal *bourgeois* of the place were in the course of celebration. The father of the bride, kind and hospitable like the generality of his countrymen, came and invited us to partake of the festivities which were going forward on the joyful occasion. We were conducted to a table where covers for eighty persons had been laid. A great number of dishes were served as a first course, consisting of omlets cut into small pieces, and placed diametrically on boiled prunes. This is a favourite dish with the *bourgeoisie* of Hungary. Roast meats of various kinds with stewed pears, and game with sweetmeats, were afterwards laid on the table, and this course was succeeded by various kinds of puddings, the flour of all of which was of Indian wheat. Wine in great abundance and variety was also served to the guests during the repast. In compliment to my companion and myself, as strangers, we were placed at table on



each side of the bride, who was far better looking than the generality of her countrywomen. Our conversation was carried on by signs ; a language in which the lady evinced much intelligence. After supper dancing was introduced. There is much variety in the national dances of the Hungarians. Some bear resemblance to the Cossack dance, and others to that of the Greeks. Waltzing is very general among them. We retired at an earlier hour than the festivities were seemingly intended to be kept up ; but these good Hungarians were in so hospitable a mood, that they got our servants among them after we had gone to bed, and made them so tipsy, that we were thereby prevented from setting out the next morning as early as we had proposed.

A great deal of tobacco is cultivated in Hungary, for the local consumption as well as for exportation. I do not believe that among any of the divers nations united under the imperial sceptre of Austria the practice of smoking and taking snuff is so general as it is with the Hungarians. The whole annual consumption of tobacco there amounts to between 600,000 and 700,000 kintals. The district of Packa, into which we entered shortly after leaving Felitch-haza, is one of the most productive in the tobacco leaf. It is also celebrated for the quantity of honey it affords,



and the superior quality of that article. In the little town of Packa, where we stopped a couple of hours to take some refreshment, we tasted some hydromel which had been in bottle twelve years. It had the flavour and nearly the strength of the finest old rum.

The little town of Keshkemmet, at which we arrived about a couple of hours after leaving Packa, is remarkable only for being situated on the borders of a dreary and sandy desert, which, from north to south, is said to extend a hundred leagues. Its breadth, in that part of it over which we travelled, is about fifteen leagues.

At Keshkemmet the postmaster compelled us to take an additional horse for each of our carriages, and we soon found that he had not exaggerated the difficulties of going over that sandy part of the country. There was nowhere any appearance of a road ; and our horses, frequently half way up to their knees in sand, were obliged to go at a slow pace. Traces of vegetation were not to be seen, excepting here and there the wild brier ; and no inhabited spots lie on the traveller's road besides the miserable villages of Feldeack and Erkenny, which merely serve as post stations. The steps of Russia almost appeared a cultivated country when compared with the arid and grey soil of these sandy deserts. At least there the



surface of the earth is uninterruptedly covered over with some kind of vegetation, and the traveller's progress is not retarded by the nature of the soil. My companion thought it infinitely more agreeable to go over the dangerous roads of the mountains of his native country, where one is pleased and delighted at every step by the beauty and variety of the scenery, than over the monotonous and dreary paths of the Erkenny desert, where nothing but sand and clouds meet the eye.

Under these circumstances, therefore, we felt no small delight when, after passing Erkenny, the country began to change, assuming by degrees a very agreeable appearance. The beauty of the scenery increased as we went through the towns of Inatch and Otcha, but nothing else remarkable occurred through our progress until we arrived at Soroksan, where we stopped to dine at an inn of a very promising appearance. While our dinner was preparing we proceeded to view the magnificent *château* of the Count Amady, one of the magnates of Hungary, whose estates are in the neighbourhood of that place. A woman at the porter's lodge readily let us into the park, but informed us that we could not be admitted into the mansion. After walking some time through a variety of delightful avenues, and



amidst parterres covered over with flowers, we sat on a bench situated at the extremity of a lawn, from whence the *château* presented itself very advantageously to view. A young man wearing the uniform of a Hungarian officer, and the cross of Maria Theresa, advanced towards the place where we were seated. He was holding the arm of a young lady, and a black bandage was tied over his eyes, so that we soon became aware he was deprived of sight. The lady's *tournure* was extremely elegant, and her person very handsome; but though her features were good, her face was so strongly marked with the smallpox as to be greatly disfigured. They passed by us at a slow pace, and the lady returned our salute with great affability of manner. Our curiosity had been somewhat excited by this rencontre, so that on our return to the inn, we made inquiries of the hostess respecting the persons we had met. As she was a very talkative sort of a person, she entered with great readiness into particulars regarding them; the more so, as she assured us no one could possess them more accurately than herself, having been a maid-servant in the *château* a great portion of her life. The story was certainly extremely romantic, and was afterwards confirmed to me at Vienna by several



persons who professed to be as well acquainted with the parties as the hostess at the village of Soroksan.

The blind person was the son of the Count Hadik, one of the magnates of Hungary, who had married the only daughter of his father's intimate friend the Count Amady. She was the person whose arm he held when we met them. The young people had been brought up in such habits of regard for each other, that the strongest possible attachment existed between them by the time they had ceased to feel as children. Before the period fixed for their union had arrived war broke out between Austria and France, and the emperor called in the aid of his Hungarian troops. According to a custom prevalent in Hungary, the nobility are bound to take a personal part in every war in which the national independence is at stake. Young Hadik was therefore obliged to obey immediately the emperor's call, and remained absent two years. During that period the beautiful young countess had been attacked by the smallpox, which committed such ravages on her face, that she herself experienced a feeling of horror when she first saw the dreadful change in a glass.

So great was the impression made on her mind



by this untoward event, that she had fully resolved never more to suffer young Hadik to set his eyes on her. But before she had been allowed to execute a plan of retreat which she had formed her lover returned. She consented to see him again ; but for the purpose of declaring to him that, as it was impossible for him to expect happiness from his union with one whose appearance had undergone so great a change, she released him from his engagement, and had determined to pass her days in a convent. When the young lovers were brought into each other's presence, the young countess kept her face concealed in her handkerchief, and could not for a long time prevail upon herself to raise her eyes on her lover. But when at last she did so, she then perceived for the first time that he was deprived of sight ! The explosion of a powder canister had some time before destroyed his powers of vision. The young countess experienced a mixed feeling of sorrow and delight ; but she vowed at once that she would never more stir from his side, and that she would be his companion and conductor through life. They were immediately married, since when they reside sometimes at the *château* of the Count Amady at Soroksan, and at others with the Count Hadik in another part of the



country, the one delighted in having secured the continuance of her lover's affection by his loss of power to appreciate her loss of beauty, and the other happy in finding a partner and constant companion in one whose former love for him was not likely to be diminished by his own misfortune.

## CHAPTER XXI.



## CHAPTER XXI.

Arrival at Pest—Some account of that place—State of society in Hungary—Resources of the country—The diet, or legislative council—The crown regalia—Ceremonies observed at the coronation of the kings of Hungary—Arrival at Vienna.

“IT is hardly possible to live out of Hungary; and if existence be elsewhere practicable, it is far less agreeable than in Hungary.” Such is the saying which attachment to native soil, national prejudice, and a pride partaking of barbarism, puts into the mouth of almost every native of the country to which it refers. With the best disposition in the world to do justice to Hungary, I must confess that what I have seen of it has not convinced me that existence is less agreeable elsewhere.

The kingdom of Hungary, though for many centuries under the rule of the reigning member of the house of Austria, has preserved its own



laws, privileges, and institutions. In the event of the present imperial race becoming extinct, the Hungarians resume their right of disposing of the crown as they think proper.

The nation is divided into two distinct classes, the one called nobility, comprising, besides the magnates and other titled persons, all possessors of landed property, and a great number besides. The characteristic privilege of this class is exemption from personal taxation. The other class is formed of the peasantry and the people, who are amenable to personal taxes, contributing, something similarly to the rayahs in Turkey, every year a specified sum to the state for enjoying the privilege of being in existence.

The highest rank of the nobility consists of the great landed proprietors, bearing titles of princes, counts, and barons, and holding seats in the upper chamber of the legislative council called the diet. The next rank of nobility is composed of persons without titles, living on the revenues of their landed property, and who are eligible to the lower chamber of the diet. The other ranks are filled up by mercantile and other industrious classes, and by petty farmers who have obtained the privilege of being exempted from personal taxation.

The two chambers of the Hungarian diet con-



sist of between 600 and 700 members: the upper chamber, or table of magnates, comprises the Greek and Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops, as well as the diocesans of the eastern church, the barons of the empire, counts and magnates. The lower chamber is composed of the representatives of towns, &c. The former is under the presidency of the palatine, and all its transactions are conducted in Latin; but in the diet which met in 1825, the Hungarian tongue was for the first time brought into frequent use in their discussions. The lower house, under the presidency of the king's representative at the high tribunal, called the king's table, in Pest, conduct their debates in their native language, and Latin is seldom used among them.

It remains with the sovereign to fix the place of meeting. From the close of the thirteenth century to the year 1526, the diets were generally held in the open air, and in an extensive mead, in the presence, on many an occasion, of 80,000 spectators, mostly mounted. This meadow was termed the Rakos-field, and adjoined the city of Pest. In later times it has been usual to hold it either in the last-mentioned town, or Ofen. The king is bound to convoke it once in three years at the least, and he issues his summons to all such as are entitled to attend it, in the shape of what are



styled *literæ regales*. He has also the power of proroguing and dissolving it.

The first sitting of the diet is engrossed by ceremonials ; both chambers appoint deputations for the purpose of complimenting each other, and pass a resolution which names a numerous deputation, on whom devolves the duty of presenting an address to the king, inviting him to attend the diet. On the day appointed for his public entry, he holds it in great state ; and on the ensuing day the members of the diet assemble in the palace, where he has established his quarters, and receive from him a written set of propositions, in which he enumerates the points which he wishes to come under their consideration. The deliberations of the diet then commence : first with the lower chamber, who meet previously in committees, and then in the public hall of assembly, where they discuss the king's propositions, and communicate their determination in writing to the table of magnates. Notes are then exchanged between them until both houses coincide in their votes. In the event of any lengthened controversy between the two bodies, they meet in the hall of the magnates, and these meetings are thence denominated *sessiones mixtæ*, or mixed sittings. As soon as any of the royal propositions has been approved, it is submitted to the king, who may



assent to, or dissent from, the measure. What the sovereign requires is, however, frequently resisted by the diet ; and as no legislative proceeding can become the law of the land without the assent of the three estates, the consequence of the long deliberations and negotiations which ensue upon any disputed point, is, that the demands of the sovereign and the requirements of the states alternately carry the day ; for it is a part of the privileges enjoyed by the diet to lay their *gravamina* and *postulata* before the sovereign. The initiative is therefore inherent in both estates, the monarch as well as the chambers. If the king refuse to agree to the measures proposed by the latter, the palatine of Hungary steps in and acts the part of an umpire. Before the diet is closed the enactments are reduced into the form of laws, and carefully recorded in the national chancery. The proceedings being thus brought to a termination, the royal sanction is given to each separate enactment. This is effected in the shape of a decree from the king, which receives the royal seal, is then given by his majesty, the high chancellor, and a privy councillor, and afterwards delivered to the states with the same solemnities which attended the communications of the royal propositions. The dissolution of the diet now takes place. The king and the



national representatives take leave of each other, and the former directs copies of the new laws to be transmitted to them without delay, in order that they may be promulgated throughout the kingdom at the sessions held in the counties, towns, and districts, where they take effect from the day of publication.

The sittings of the diet are conducted with open doors, and any respectably dressed person enjoys the free ingress to them; even females honour the galleries in both chambers with their presence. Written speeches are not permitted: a summary of the matter is entered in the journals, and appears in print after revisal by a special committee. The discussions which take place in the committees are not recorded, but notes are taken of their resolutions. The journals of the diet have been printed ever since the year 1790; but previously to that period nothing but a written record of proceedings was kept.

During the debates every speaker is required to confine himself strictly within the bounds of decency, and avoid all personal invective and unseemly language. It is the province of the royal tribunal of justice to interpose and decide where personal insults are offered; but there is not perhaps a single instance of such an interposition being called for.



The sovereign never appears at the diet, but summons them to meet under his own roof, when he is desirous of consulting with them. But the queen, the princes, and the princesses, are frequent visitors in the galleries of both chambers, and often remain anxious hearers of their debates.

With regard to the condition of the peasantry, it is in many respects similar to that of the small farmers in France. In order to exempt them from the state of vassalage in which they were previously to 1791, a decree of Maria Theresa gave the rank of farmers to all the peasants who are able to maintain a farm composed of six acres of land. Every farmer, so qualified, may aspire to official employment ; and may even, if he has talents to assist him, reach the highest offices of the realm. I do not believe that many instances occur of a similar elevation from the most humble ranks ; but the practicability of it renders the condition of the Hungarian peasantry infinitely preferable to that of their brethren in Russia, Poland, Moldavia, and Wallachia, where neither gold nor talents would avail them.

Pest, and Ofen or Buda, though called two distinct cities, are only divided by the Danube, between which a wooden bridge of boats is the established mode of communication. These two cities form the capital of Hungary, and their



joint population may be computed at 50,000. The appearance of Pest at a distance on the road from Soroksan gave us a very exalted idea of the magnificence of that city, which a closer inspection did not diminish. It is situated at the extremity of an immense plain, while Ofen, built on a hill which borders that side of the Danube on which it stands, presented an extremely picturesque appearance. The streets, which are wide and regular, are almost every where bordered with handsome buildings. Among the finest edifices of the town, those now used as barracks, and which were raised under the reign of Charles VI. to serve as hospitals for invalids, hold a prominent rank. There is a national university at Pest, a museum of natural history, which contains specimens of all the geological productions of Hungary, and a botanical garden, of great celebrity in Europe. The situation of Pest has made of that city an *entrepôt* of the trade carried on between Austria and Turkey. Goods arrive there by land from Vienna, and are forwarded by the flat-bottomed boats which navigate the Danube.

Few countries possess a greater variety of mineral waters than Hungary; there are no less than two hundred and thirty of different kinds to be found there. Some of the most beneficial



among them are in gardens of the city of Pest itself. These are chiefly of the chalybeate kind, and are administered in doses mixed with the wine of the country, called St. George and Mensesch.

The mines of precious metals are a very important source of riches to the kingdom. Their annual average produce, with that of the Transylvanian mines, is estimated at fifteen millions of francs, an amount equal to the total produce of all the other gold and silver mines of Europe. The principal mines are those of Schemnitz, in the neighbourhood of which the Empress Maria Theresa founded, in 1760, the town bearing that name, and which is now one of the first cities of Hungary. When the celebrated traveller Humboldt, after his return from America, visited the mines of Schemnitz, he found a very strong analogy between their metallic soil and that of the mines of Mexico and Peru. There are also mines of opal, which are the most valuable of the kind on the European continent. Those of Czerventza are the most productive: the finest opal known was found there; it was of the size of an English half-crown, and was sold for 40,000 florins to a jeweller in Vienna, who afterwards disposed of it for 60,000 florins.

The Hungarian Count Szekely, whose acquaint-



tance I had the pleasure of forming at Ofen, very obligingly offered to become my *cicerone* during my stay at Pest. Through his good offices, in fact, I soon became acquainted with every thing that was worth seeing ; and his intimate acquaintance with the resources possessed by his native country enabled him to supply me with every information I could possibly desire on that subject. “ I regret,” said he one day to me, “ that your impatience to reach Vienna will not allow you sufficient time to become more intimately acquainted with this country. You would perhaps find it to be the most remarkable on the continent of Europe. Situated in the most temperate part of our hemisphere, and bathed by one of the largest rivers known, almost every where it presents picturesque scenery, and useful productions. Its soil is extremely fertile ; and its mountains, where their elevation renders culture impossible, offer resources of the most varied and extensive kind to the naturalist. I wish you could have visited the establishments of some of our most wealthy magnates ; you would have seen that the courts held by them surpass in magnificence those of the sovereign princes of Germany. In the exercise of hospitality I believe they are not equalled even by your friends the palatines of Poland. Our Prince Esterhazy keeps up an establishment



at Eisenstadt which is equal to that of a king. His palace there, built in 1683, is an imposing building, containing two hundred apartments, all furnished in the richest and most elegant style, and which are frequently entirely occupied by guests. As many rooms besides in adjacent buildings are occupied by his guards and the persons attached to his household. The prince's uniform as colonel of hussars, with the field accoutrements of his horse, is estimated at two millions of florins, which is nearly equal to five millions of your francs.\* To attempt to give you a description of the magic beauties of the gardens, parks, and all kinds of pleasure-grounds by which his palace is surrounded, would be almost equivalent to an account of the wonders related in the tales of the Arabian Nights."

The monotonous tranquillity which reigns in Ofen, forms a striking contrast with the bustling activity which every where prevails in the commercial town of Pest. But the beauty of some of its buildings, situated on the steep declivity of

\* I have seen that dress worn by the Prince Nicholas Esterhazy on the occasion of the marriage of the emperor with the Princess d'Est. It was entirely embroidered with pearls of the finest quality. This dress is an heir-loom in the family. The Prince Nicholas last appeared in the same dress in London at the coronation of George IV.



the hill which borders that side of the river, crowned by the splendid palace of the viceroy of Hungary, gives it an aspect of no less pleasing, if not the same kind as that which is possessed by Pest. The palace was inhabited by the emperor's brother, the Archduke Reynier, whom the estates had, at the emperor's recommendation of course, elected grand palatine of Hungary. In the arsenal of the citadel of Ofen the crown regalia are kept. The crown is the same which was set upon Stephen's head above eight centuries ago, and ever since the year 1779 it has been watched day and night; for no sovereign of Hungary stands legally possessed of his high office unless the crown itself has begirt his brow. It is preserved in a case, and entrusted to the care of two custodians, specially appointed for the purpose: this case is inclosed in an iron chest, under the seals of the sovereign and the principal officers of the crown, and its valuable contents are exposed to public view three days before and after the ceremony of coronation. The frontlet of the crown was presented to Gersa I., king of Hungary, by Michael Ducas, emperor of the east; but the upper half of it, that which consists of two bows bent over one another, was a pious donation from Pope Sylvester to St. Stephen in the year 1000. The crown is of pure gold, and weighs nine marks



six ounces, (fourteen pounds,) and the precious stones with which it is studded consist of fifty-three sapphires, fifty rubies, one emerald, and three hundred and thirty-eight pearls. The imperial sceptre resembles a mace in shape, and is ornamented with a tip of crystal, set in solid gold. St. Stephen's royal mantle, which is like the garment used at mass, is fifty-four inches in length, made of silk embroidered in gold, and is embellished with effigies of the prophets, apostles, and martyrs.

Some curious ceremonies are still observed at the coronation of the kings of Hungary, which takes place at Presburg. As soon as the prince, who is preceded by the postmaster-royal and his attendant officers, has reached the garden of the prince-primate, he receives the greetings of the primate, magnates, and members of the diet, as well as the remaining prelates, and is conducted by them to the primate's residence. Salvos of artillery and the fire of the musketry announce his arrival there. The course of the procession leads through files of soldiery: its brilliant array is closed by the king, who is seated in a car of state, guarded in the rear by a body of noble pages, the Hungarian body guard, and other military corps. When he reaches the gates of Presburg, the chief justice of the town, on behalf of the municipality,



presents him with its keys on a rich gold-embroidered cushion: the procession then passes through files, composed of the city companies, with streamers flying, and amidst the ringing of bells, beating of drums, and roar of cannon. When it reaches the chapel, where the prelacy is assembled for the purpose of receiving their sovereign, the king descends, and the archbishop-primate of Grau commences the solemn rites. Being attended by his splendid *cortège*, he is introduced into the sacristy, where the barons of the kingdom and grand dignitaries receive the various insignia appertaining to their offices, and marshalling themselves in due form, enter the church in the following order:—

The Clergy, with the cross borne before them ;  
 Nobles and Magnates ;  
 Knights of Orders, Privy Counsellors, and Chamberlains :  
 Magnates, two and two, bearing the standards of  
     Bulgaria and Cumania,  
     Lodomeria and Gallicia,  
     Servia and Rama,  
     Dalmatia and Croatia,  
                     and  
     Sclavonia and Hungary.  
 The Herald of Hungary in his state habiliments ;  
 Lord Chamberlain, with the patriarchal cross ;



Arch-Cupbearer, with St. Stephen's sword ;  
Ban of Croatia, with the imperial apple on a  
cushion of cloth of gold ;  
Lord Chief Justice, with the sceptre on a similar  
cushion ;  
Palatine with the imperial crown on a like cushion ;  
Master of the Horse, with the naked sword ;  
THE KING OF HUNGARY ;  
Grand Master of the Ceremonies, with the Hun-  
garian body-guard, and rear-guard.

After every one has taken the post assigned to him in the church, the king is conducted by two bishops beneath the canopy of state, which is erected in front of the altar, and the prince-primate, advancing to perform the ceremony, receives the insignia from the several bearers, and lays them upon the altar. The king now kneels down on a carpet of stuff of gold, and the prelate addresses him in a short speech. His majesty then swears by the Holy Gospel, which the primate holds out to him, that he will bear himself in peace and with equity. The Litany to all saints is then celebrated, and his majesty is anointed on the breast and right arm with the catechumenical oil. Having placed himself again beneath the canopy, he is invested with St. Stephen's mantle : the primate now performs the solemn service of mass ; and after the epistle, his



majesty kneels down on the uppermost step before the altar, and receives St. Stephen's sword from the hands of the pontiff: this being girded to his majesty's side, he unsheathes it, and waves it three times on high, as a token that he is ready to wield it in defence of the faith. The primate then takes the crown from the altar, and, with the assistance of the palatine, places it on his majesty's head whilst he is kneeling, and deposits the imperial apple in one of the king's hands, and the sceptre in the other. Then "Long live the King" is shouted three times; his majesty is conducted to the throne; the *Te Deum* strikes up, and the remainder of the service is celebrated. At the offertory the king returns the insignia to their respective bearers, walks up with his head uncovered to the altar, and having made his offering of a piece of gold, resumes the insignia, and again seats himself upon his throne. At the raising of the Host he again parts with the insignia, and kneels down on the step of the throne; and he repeats the same form at the communion, when he receives the holy sacrament.

The procession then proceeds on foot, and on a raised platform,\* lined with green, red, and

\* After the ceremony, this platform and its fittings become the spoil of the Hungarian lieges.



white cloth, through the principal streets of the town, and bends its way to another church—the president of the Hungarian chancery, who acts as lord-treasurer, scattering gold and silver among the populace. As soon as the king reaches the church he draws St. Stephen's sword, and confers the honour of knighthood on several magnates and noblemen. After this ceremony has taken place, all the assistants mount their horses, and ride, with the earl-marshal at their head, through certain streets to a square, where a stage of honour is erected, on which the king, accompanied by the chief dignitaries, makes his appearance. Here in the presence of thousands of spectators, and with uplifted hand, he takes heaven to witness, after a form of oath recited by the primate, that he will religiously maintain the national laws and privileges. The procession then rides to the King's Mount, which his majesty ascends at full gallop; and as a sign that he takes possession of his royal heritage, and will defend it against every assailant, he draws St. Stephen's sword, and swings it aloft towards the four quarters of the compass. When this ceremony is concluded the last salute is fired, and the procession accompany the king back to the royal residence. Here a splendid repast is given, at which the several officers of the crown perform the respective duties attached to



their office, and during which the populace assemble round a roasted ox, and are regaled with plenty of roast meat, bread, and wine, dispensed from a booth erected in the great square.

Joseph II. had made himself exceedingly unpopular among the nobility of Hungary by arbitrarily causing the crown to be conveyed to Vienna. This proceeding contributed in no small degree to the serious obstacles subsequently thrown in the way of the divers reforms he contemplated in Hungary. Two days previous to his death he sent the crown back to Ofen, from whence it has only been removed to be used at the coronation of his successors Leopold and Francis, which took place at Presburg.

We found a great difference in the state of the road between Pest and Vienna from what it had been before we reached the former city. In the other parts of Hungary which we had traversed the road was by no means regular, and in many places it was formed merely by the track of carriage wheels. Here it was kept in the highest order. The country also had a more agreeable aspect, the towns were better built, and the accommodations for travellers every where excellent. At the little town of Haimburg we passed the frontier of Hungary, and entered on the territory of the duchy of Austria. There is a custom-



house at that place, where we were detained about an hour to undergo again a search for contraband goods, and some formalities with regard to articles already manifested on the Transylvanian frontier, on which duties were payable, or the transit seal had been fixed.

The country through the duchy of Austria is rather hilly, and in many places very picturesque. It is every where extremely well cultivated. Our progress through it was rapid, the distance between Haïmburg and Vienna being only eight German miles ; and the magnificent spire of St. Stephen's cathedral soon announced to us that we were in the immediate vicinity of that capital.

Political events enabled me to shorten the necessity of my stay at Vienna, and early in the spring of 1814 I visited once more my native land ; but circumstances brought me back to the Austrian capital some months after, and enabled me to be a close observer of the occurrences which form the subject of the following volume, and a participator in many.

END OF VOL. I.

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